

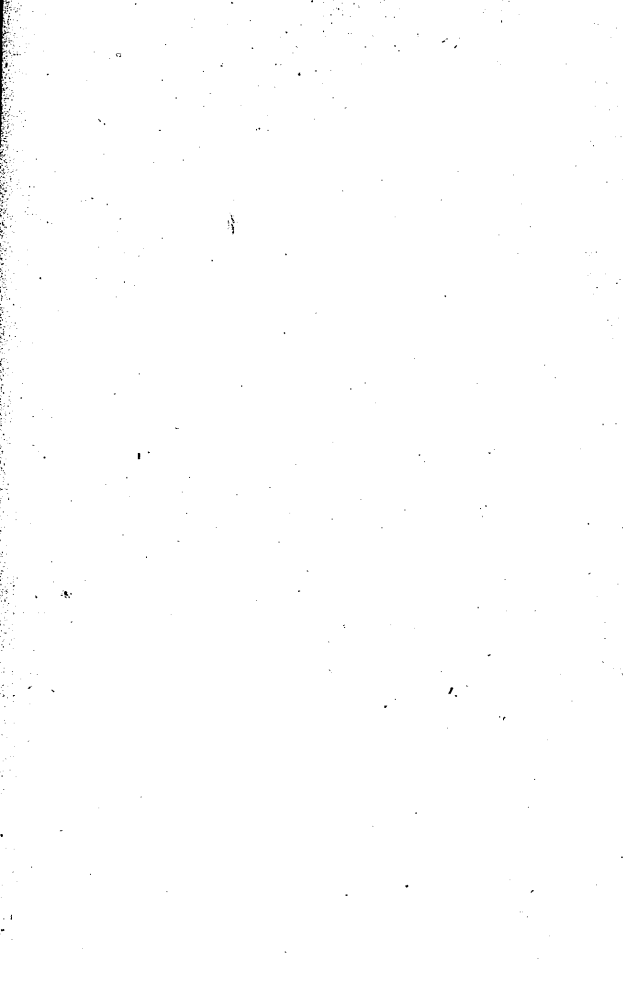
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HISTORY
OF
THE COVENANTERS
IN

SCOTLAND.

BY THE

AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION, ETC.

William Stone

"Thy persecuted children, Scotia, foiled
"A tyrant's and a bigot's bloody laws."

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRESBYTERIAN BOARD OF PUBLICATION.

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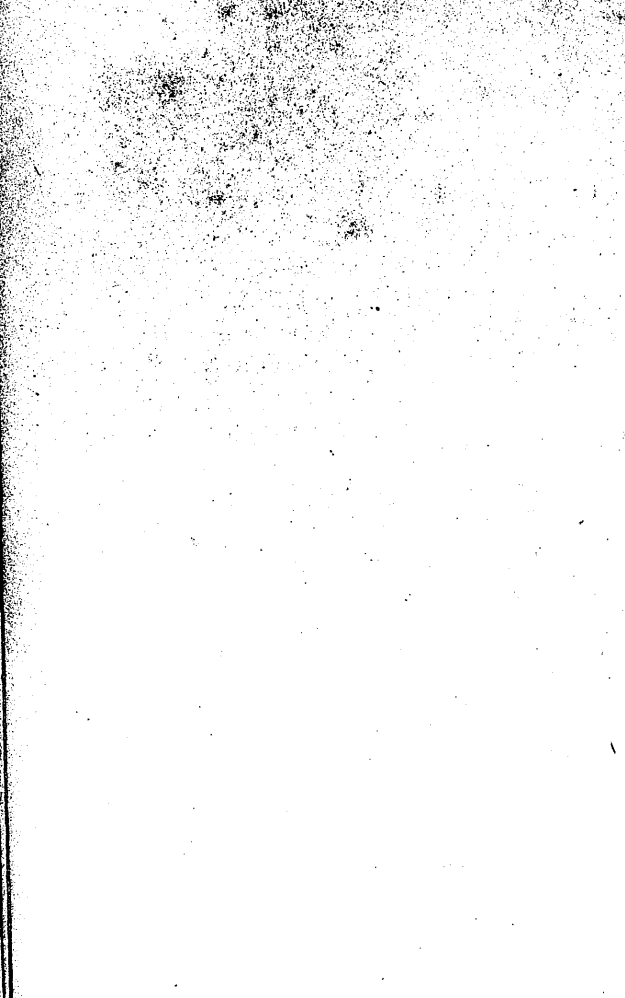
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TO
THE REVEREND
THOMAS M'CRIE, D. D.
THE DISTINGUISHED BIOGRAPHER OF THE REFORMERS,
AND HISTORIAN OF THE REFORMATION
FROM POPERY,
IN SCOTLAND, ITALY, AND SPAIN,
THE FOLLOWING ATTEMPT
TO RECORD THE HEROIC RESISTANCE
OF THE SCOTTISH COVENANTERS
TO ECCLESIASTICAL AND CIVIL TYRANNY,
IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY,
IS, WITH HIGH REGARD FOR HIS PRINCIPLES AND TALENTS,
NO LESS THAN FOR HIS PERSONAL CHARACTER,
RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED
BY
THE AUTHOR.



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PREFACE.

IN offering to the Public the following History of the Covenanters, the Author disclaims any wish to supersede the study of those more copious volumes which have furnished the materials of his own. On the contrary, he is persuaded, that in order to obtain an enlarged acquaintance with this or with any branch of history, a patient examination of those elaborate works which were designed to illustrate it is indispensably necessary. And such an exercise, in the case of every one who can command sufficient leisure, and whose mind has been kindled by the interest of the subject, will be found much more attractive than it is too often supposed to be irksome and laborious. In former times, those venerable volumes which contain the records of the ecclesiastical history of Scotland constituted the staple reading of the most respectable classes of the people, whose minds, by this means, became not only stored with the memorable events of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but imbued also with those lofty principles which these events tended at once to form and to develope.

But it is not to be disguised, that a considerable change has taken place, both in the general taste for reading, and in the circumstances by which that taste is affected. And is there not some reason to apprehend, that amidst the multitude of books which are crowding forward upon the public notice, the solid acquirements in the knowledge of history are

in danger of being displaced by a more miscellaneous, but far more superficial literature?

To recall, in some degree, the general attention to an epoch, the most deeply interesting in the annals of Scotland, by furnishing an epitome of its history for the use of those who either have not access to the larger works on the subject, or leisure for their perusal, is the leading object which the Author has in view in the present publication.

In those who avow an attachment to the cause of Presbytery, nothing can be more inconsistent than ignorance of those arduous struggles by which its safety and independence were secured. For, separate from the fact, which cannot be controverted, that the Covenanters did really form the body of men who possessed the only true religion and solid worth which existed in Scotland at the time, is it not also a very striking consideration, that the great objects for which these patriots, confessors, and martyrs, suffered and shed their blood, were the very principles afterwards embodied in those standards of the Presbyterian Church which were prepared by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster in pursuance of the solemn league and covenant? And can any one who professes to appreciate the value of those religious privileges, now enjoyed by the people of Scotland, remain contentedly in a state of indifference as to the transactions of such a period, and the history of those heroic men, "whose blood," as has been justly said, "watered the plant of renown," of which "succeeding ages have eaten the pleasant fruits."

To those who profess to have no favour for Presbytery, and no reverence for the principles on which it is founded, or who may have even been

accustomed to look with a jealous and scornful eye upon the simple religious institutions of Scotland, there are many reasons for recommending the study of the History of the Covenanters. For, after every possible allowance has been made for the influence of natural prejudices, there are many indications that the derision which is oft-times expressed proceeds from a total ignorance, or an entire misapprehension of the origin, genius, and character of that against which it is directed,—a circumstance which may very possibly have been aggravated by certain unwarrantable encroachments which, in this matter, a licentious spirit of fiction and parody has not scrupled to make on the province of history. To check this scoffing tendency, and to dissipate the delusion from which it springs, nothing more is necessary, in every candid and reflecting mind, than a little sound information as to the facts of the case, and a just estimate, founded upon such information, of the real character of those distinguished men, who stood forward in the transactions of the times.

But besides this, there is a view of the subject of a more general and commanding nature, to which we cannot but advert. Not only is the struggle for their personal and public rights, which was maintained by the Scottish Covenanters, invested with a character that it holds in common with the noble resistance on a wider scale, which was afterwards made to the spirit of arbitrary power and the tyranny of King James, but there can be no doubt that it was one of the chief instruments in preparing the way of the great national and political revolution, to which, not more universally than justly, has been appropriated the name of “glo-

rious." "Their standards on the mountains of Scotland," to use the language of an author already quoted, "indicated to the vigilant eye of William, that the nation was ripening for a change."

If this be the case, and such the interest that is associated with the subject, the Author trusts that he may be discharged from the necessity of making any further apology for the present work, in which he has endeavoured, from authentic sources, to present to the public a condensed narrative of the important events of the period which intervened betwixt the rise of the Covenanters and the Revolution in 1688.

HISTORY

OF THE

COVENANTERS.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction—abolition of popery, and establishment of presbytery in Scotland—hostility of James VI. to Presbyterianism—steps taken by that monarch to introduce Prelacy—his arbitrary proceedings—Charles I. determines to support Episcopacy—arrogance and severity of the bishops—efforts of the Presbyterians to prevent the overthrow of their church—proceedings of parliament—Edinburgh erected into a separate bishopric—state of the Scottish church—a liturgy and book of canons imposed on the nation—objectionable nature of these publications—proclamation for reading the liturgy in Edinburgh—tumult in St. Giles' Cathedral on its introduction—the order for its use suspended by the council—Charles peremptorily enjoins it to be persevered in—supplication of the Presbyterians against it—tumult in Edinburgh.

THE Reformation from Popery was not effected in Scotland without an arduous struggle. Opposed as the government then was to Protestantism, the Scottish reformers found it necessary to unite in various solemn bonds or covenants, for maintaining and promoting the interests of true religion, as well as for their own mutual defence;* and being emi-

* One of these bonds was subscribed at Edinburgh, on the 3d of December, 1557, soon after Mary of Guise, the queen regent, began to show her antipathy to the Reformation. Another, dated Perth, May 31, 1559, was

nently favoured by Divine Providence, the whole system of popery was at length completely abolished, and Presbyterianism was established and acknowledged throughout the country. The house of Stuart beheld, however, the change with dismay, and left no means untried to prevent the work of reformation from being carried to perfection : For although James VI. publicly declared that the church of Scotland was "the sincerest and purest kirk in the world," he no sooner ascended the throne of England, than he marred its beauty, and, in a great measure, overturned its constitution." So early, indeed, as the year 1572, "the name and office of archbishop and bishop" were imposed on the church, by a partial convention held at Leith ; (Cald. p. 49, &c. Spots. p. 258,) and notwithstanding the General Assembly, in 1580, declared that "these offices had no warrant in the word of God," yet the antipathy of James to Presbyterianism remained unaltered,

entered into from a well grounded mistrust of the regent's sincerity ; and a third, called "the last band at Leith," dated April 27, 1560, was formed when the regent had fortified Leith, and was endeavouring to enslave the nation by means of French troops. The "First National Covenant," which was drawn up by John Craig, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, was signed by the king and his household on the 28th of January, 1580, and shortly afterwards by all ranks in the kingdom.

and he used every effort to establish Episcopacy, though detested by the nation, on its ruins.

In vain did the Scottish ministers remonstrate against the unhallowed proceedings of their monarch. In 1606 James declared himself head of both church and state; restored the bishops to their ancient honours, dignities, prerogatives, and livings; compelled the presbyteries and synods to receive "constant moderators," who were to be either bishops or their dependents; and in 1610 established courts of high commission, for the purpose of taking cognizance of the conduct and sentiments of all who were obnoxious to the prelates. In short, he scrupled not to declare it to be his intention completely to abolish presbytery in Scotland. Nor were his efforts altogether unsuccessful. In an assembly held at Perth in 1618, the following five articles were carried by a majority of the members chiefly through intimidation:—"Kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's supper; private communion; private baptism; confirmation of children; and the observance of festivals."* These articles

* The festivals at this time selected to be observed in Scotland, were, Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension day, and Pentecost. Spots. p. 539.

were ratified by a small majority in parliament in 1621, to the inexpressible grief of all who wished the "prosperity of Zion" in their native land.

Having thus obtained the sanction of law, the bishops enforced conformity to the obnoxious statutes with a high hand. Many faithful ministers, as well as private Christians, were suspended, imprisoned, or banished for refusing to sacrifice their conscience, their religion, and their liberties at the shrine of prelatie authority. Nor were the arbitrary proceedings of the bishops displeasing to the king. On the contrary, he urged them to prosecute the same infamous work without mercy; congratulating them on the sanction which their persecution of the Presbyterians had received from the legislature; "so that hereafter," says he in a letter to them, "that rebellious, disobedient, and seditious crew must either obey, or resist God, their natural king, and the law of the country. It resteth therefore to you," he adds, "to lose no more time in procuring a settled obedience to God and to us. The sword is put into your hands; go on therefore to use it, and let it rest no longer." (Cald. p. 785. Spots. p. 542.) Being thus encouraged, the prelates continued

the persecution in one form or another, until the death of James, which took place on the 23d of March 1625, when his son Charles I. was raised to the throne.

On the accession of this monarch, the Presbyterians imagined that they would obtain some mitigation of the oppressions to which they had been subjected by his father. But, instead of affording any relief, Charles determined not only to support Episcopacy in Scotland, but to reduce the Scottish church to a still nearer resemblance to the church of England. The bishops were accordingly raised to greater power than they had hitherto enjoyed, which, instead of using with moderation, they exercised with the utmost stretch of severity, and uniformly acted as if determined to goad the people to rebellion. Conformity in every point to their lordly mandates, however unscriptural or odious, was enforced with a rigour to which the very enemies of these persecuted Presbyterians in the present day would scorn to submit. Small in comparison as was the number of nonconformist ministers at that period, there was, however, a distinguished company of faithful witnesses, who never yielded to the tyrannical and impious man-

dates of Charles and his satellites. Among others, the names of Robert Bruce, John Row, Richard Dickson, Thomas Hogg, John Livingston, David Dickson, Alexander Henderson, Samuel Rutherford, Robert Douglas, George Gillespie, and Robert Blair, deserve to be mentioned, as having fearlessly opposed the overthrow of the Scottish church. (Livingston's Life, p. 9.)

The efforts of these and of other famous contenders for Presbyterian doctrine and church government were not only comparatively of little avail,* but proved the means of entailing on themselves the united persecution of the government and the prelates. No suffering, however, could induce them to abandon a cause which they firmly believed to be the cause of God, neither did they ever give themselves up entirely to despair; and

* Though their efforts to check the domineering spirit of their oppressors, and to free the church from the bondage under which she groaned, were as yet unavailing, let it not be imagined, that even at that distressing period, they altogether laboured in vain. By means of Mr. Livingston, a remarkable awakening was experienced at a communion at the kirk of Shots in 1630; and shortly afterwards the same effects were felt at Stewarton, Irvine, and Galloway. The conversions which then took place are attested by all credible historians of that period; and whatever may be thought of them now, if historical truth can be relied on, they were eminently the work of the Spirit of God.

when every other method seemed to fail, they betook themselves to fasting and prayer—weapons which, in the issue, proved the destruction of their stoutest foes. (Crookshank's Hist. Introd. p. 31. Stevenson's Hist. vol. i. p. 90.) "The ministers," says Bishop Guthrie, "laboured to increase the number of their proselytes every where, and that not without success, especially in Fife and in the western parts, whereunto a way, which they then begun, proved very conducive; and this it was: They kept a fast upon the first Sabbath of every quarter, whereof there was no public intimation, save that the ministers did privately desire so many of their flock, as from time to time they could draw over to their party, to join in it; and upon those days of fasting, they used, in their doctrine, to hint at the danger of religion by prelacy and the dependencies thereof; and in their prayer to supplicate for remedy with a blessing upon all good means which providence should afford for that end; by which course they prevailed much upon the commons. But that which advantaged them more was the turning of certain noblemen to their side; for besides that the generality of the nobility

was malcontented, there were by this time observed to be avowed owners of their interest, in Fife, the Earl of Rothes and Lord Lindsay; in Lothian, the Earl of Lothian and Lord Balmerino; and in the west, the Earls of Cassilis and Eglinton, and Lord Loudon; which accession rendered them very considerable." (Guth. Mem. p. 9.)

In the meantime, Charles determined to visit Scotland in person, along with the imperious Laud, bishop of London. "Three important affairs," says Rapin, "required his presence there. 1. He had a mind to be crowned;* 2. He intended to hold a parliament to procure money; 3. He designed to take some measures there for the execution of a project long since formed, to reduce the kirk of Scotland to a perfect conformity with the church of England, and entirely ruin Presbyterianism. To this end it was that he took Laud with him." (Rapin, vol. ii. p. 288.) Charles accordingly left London on the 17th of May, and entered Edinburgh on the 15th of June, 1633; and on the 18th he was crowned at Holyroodhouse, by Spotswood,

* Although Charles had been proclaimed King of Scotland in 1625, he did not receive the crown of that ancient kingdom till 1633.

archbishop of St. Andrews, with all popish formality. On the day following the parliament was convened, when a sum of money was voted to Charles, much larger than had ever been granted to any Scottish monarch. In regard to ecclesiastical matters, the king found it much more difficult, however, to carry his point. Two acts had been passed during the reign of James, one declaratory of the extent of the royal prerogative, and the other giving him the power of prescribing the apparel to be worn by magistrates and churchmen ; which two acts the lords of the articles now embodied in one. Startled at the idea of giving power to the king to dress up the ecclesiastics in any habit, however popish, which he might think proper, great opposition was made by the parliament to this part of the act being passed into a law. "I have sworn with your father and the whole kingdom," said Lord Melville to Charles, "to the Confession of Faith, in which the innovations intended by these articles were abjured." (Row, p. 281.) The king, however, remained inflexible, and pulling a list from his pocket, he exclaimed, "I have your names here, and I shall know to-day, who will and who will not do me service."

Notwithstanding these tyrannical proceedings, a majority in the parliament voted against the obnoxious act; but the clerk reported that it was carried in the *affirmative*! a statement, which though challenged by the Earl of Rothes, was sustained by the king, who denied the earl a scrutiny, unless at the peril of his life. (Burnet's History of his Own Times, vol. i. p. 29. Crawford, p. 24.)

This base and unconstitutional deed of the monarch, together with his refusal to redress any of the grievances of which the ministers and people complained, when presented before him by humble petition, excited the just indignation of all ranks in the nation; and when he left Scotland not long afterwards, he departed without having given satisfaction to any except the prelates. (Balfour, p. 465.) For the further extension of Episcopal rules, Charles at the same time erected Edinburgh into a separate bishopric, which was conferred on William Forbes, one of the ministers of Aberdeen. The new bishop enjoyed his dignity only about two months and a half, and was succeeded by David Lindsay, bishop of Brechin. Previously to his death, however, Bishop Forbes violently

urged the nonconformist ministers and people to observe the Episcopalian ceremonies, nay, declared that if his life were spared, he would either make the best of them content to communicate kneeling, or abandon his office. (Stevenson, vol. i. p. 124.)

On the death of Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, which took place shortly after the king's arrival at London, Laud was advanced to the primacy, and entrusted with the management of all ecclesiastical matters in both kingdoms. Having accordingly framed articles for the service of the chapel royal, Laud obtained an order from Charles to send them to Scotland as a pattern for all cathedrals, chapels, and parish churches in that kingdom. The liturgy was to be read twice a day, with the choir, the communion received kneeling, and the dean was ordered to use the surplice whenever he officiated in public, and to enforce the observance of the stated festivals. To sum up the misery of the Scottish church, the prelates and their coadjutors the conforming ministers, having abandoned the doctrines of the Reformation, preached to the people nothing but the worst species of Arminianism, while some of them evinced no small partiality for popery. Not

only was their own moral conduct in general a disgrace to any profession, but they could not endure to see genuine piety exemplified in any individual; and they therefore rid themselves of many of the holiest and most eminent ministers in the country* by a summary process and sentence of deprivation before their high commission court. Their ambition, too, was unbounded, eagerly grasping at all, and being put in possession of many offices of state; and aspiring after greater authority than they yet enjoyed, they obtained a warrant from the crown to erect in every diocese, inquisitorial courts, subordinate to the court of high commission, where the most flagrant injustice and oppression were practised with impunity. (Burnet's History, vol. i. p. 37.)

But though little else than the ruins of Presbyterianism now remained in Scotland, yet the king and his restless prelates determined to deprive the nation of the very last remains of their religion. For this purpose he ordered the bishops to prepare a liturgy and a book of canons, similar to those which were

* Among these were Robert Glendinning, William Dalgleish, Walter Greig, and Samuel Rutherford.—Stevenson, vol. i. p. 140.

used in England; a measure not only highly impolitic and dangerous, but one which, as we shall afterwards see, proved fatal to the interests of that bigoted monarch, and was the means of razing to its foundations that unhallowed fabric, the cope-stone of which he imagined would be laid by the introduction of his favourite book of common prayer. (Crawford, p. 31.)

The book of canons, which was compiled by the bishops of Ross, Galloway, Dunblane, and Aberdeen, was first published, and having been revised by Laud, was sent to Scotland in 1635, with an order under the great seal, commanding its implicit and universal reception. All this was done without the sanction of any church court; the royal authority alone being deemed sufficient to control the consciences and to alter the religion of a whole nation: and, that this is no libel on the publication in question, will appear evident if we briefly examine the matter it contained.

The canons affirmed the king's authority in ecclesiastical affairs to be the same as that exercised by the kings of Judah, and laid under the sentence of excommunication all who presumed to call in question his abso-

lute power. They subjected to a similar sentence all who should dare to impugn the doctrines contained in the book of common prayer,* or the government of the church by archbishops, bishops, &c. No minister was allowed to omit the ritual pointed out in the liturgy, neither to offer up an extempore prayer to God, whatever might be his own feelings, or the situation in which he was placed. National or general assemblies were prohibited unless called by the king's authority; and no private meetings were to be held by the ministers for expounding the Scriptures, or ecclesiastical business discussed, except in the houses of the prelates. The churches were to be furnished with baptismal fonts and altars; and to assimilate the church of Scotland as much as possible to the church of Rome, sacramental confession, absolution, and other popish doctrines were unblushingly maintained in this precious piece of prelatical composition. No teacher was allowed to instruct youth without license from a bishop, and no book was permitted to be printed without undergoing an inquisitorial examination. And, to sum up all, no

* This book, it will be kept in mind, was not yet published.

person was allowed to perform any ecclesiastical function unless he affixed his signature to these canons. (Stevenson, vol. i. p. 158. Collier's Hist. vol. ii. p. 763.)

The liturgy followed in 1637, and was the production chiefly of the bishops of Ross and Dunblane. In substance it was the same as that used in the English church ; but in many points it approximated much nearer to the Romish ritual. For example, the doctrines of baptismal regeneration, transubstantiation, and prayers for the dead, were not unobscurely taught in it, and these were incorporated with a multitude of unscriptural and ridiculous ceremonies, mingled with apocryphal lessons.* Such were the books attempted to be palmed on the Presbyterian church of Scotland, and insultingly declared to be a compendium of the acts of the General Assembly ! Such is the work which Hume styles an "*inoffensive* liturgy," given to the Scottish nation by "the mild, the humane Charles !!" Let the reader judge for himself.

Easter-day, 1637, was by proclamation

* The lessons from the apocrypha were not however, so numerous as in the English liturgy ; there being more passages of Scripture from both Testaments.

appointed for the first reading of the service in Edinburg ; but so formidable was the opposition which appeared likely to be made to this new species of worship, that the day which had been fixed for its introduction was allowed to pass. A new order from Charles for its immediate observance having been obtained, however, by the bishops, the 23d of July was appointed for the liturgy being read in all the churches of the city, and the Sabbath preceding for giving intimation to the people. During the week after this intimation was given, the greatest agitation prevailed throughout the metropolis, and the strongest marks of disapprobation were manifested at the conduct of the bishops, on whom the inhabitants laid the blame of all their grievances.

When the memorable 23d arrived, the new service was performed in the Greyfriar's church amidst groans and lamentations. The greatest crowd, however, resorted to St. Giles's cathedral,* where were assembled the privy council, the lords of session, and the magistrates of the city. The congregation remained quiet till the

* These were the only two churches in Edinburgh in which the liturgy was attempted to be introduced.

dean of Edinburgh, arrayed in his surplice, commenced reading the service ; but scarcely had he finished the first sentence ere an old woman of the name of Janet Geddes started up, and seizing the stool on which she had been sitting, hurled it at his head, exclaiming, " Villain, dost thou say mass at my lug ?" Her example was immediately followed by others, and the confusion soon became universal. Afraid of his life, the dean left his surplice and fled ; upon which Lindsay, bishop of Edinburgh, took possession of the pulpit, and endeavoured to restore tranquillity. Instead of listening, however, to his exhortations, he was assailed with every missile which came to hand. The greater part of the rioters being at length expelled by the magistrates, the service was again attempted to be performed : but so outrageous were the people without doors that a single word could not be heard by those within. When the bishop left the church he was assaulted in the street by an infuriated populace, and narrowly escaped falling a martyr to his favourite liturgy. Although all this took place without any preconcerted plan, and originated entirely with the lower orders of the people, yet so general was the indignation

against Episcopacy and its abettors, that the spark which was then kindled was soon blown into a flame, which the government itself found it impossible to quench. (Baillie's Letters, vol. i. pp. 5, 6. Burnet's Mem., p. 32. Row, p. 305. Naphtali, p. 138.)

In consequence of this disturbance, the privy counsel issued an order, forbidding all tumultuous meetings on pain of death; and the city itself was laid under an Episcopal interdict, by which all public worship was suspended for a month. So determined indeed were the bishops to press the liturgy on the nation, notwithstanding what had taken place, that they resolved to compel every parish, according to a former order, to purchase two copies. For refusing to comply, Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, James Bruce of Kingsbarns, and George Hamilton of Newburn, were, at the instigation of the bishops, charged by the chancellor to purchase the prescribed copies under a penalty. In his own name and in those of his brethren, Mr. Henderson presented a supplication to the privy council, praying for a suspension of the charge, and giving his reasons in detail. Other ministers throughout the country copied his example; and notwith-

standing the solicitations of the bishops, the council found it necessary to declare, that "the charge required only the purchase, but not the use of the liturgy," to defray the expenses of printing; and for the present they suspended the order for its being read in the churches. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 7.) At the same time the council wrote to the king, informing him of the decided antipathy of the people of Scotland to the service book, and expressing their own fears of the consequences, were rigorous measures resorted to, in order to enforce its reception.

Instead of listening to the prudent suggestions of the council, the king returned an answer full of invective, censuring them for their lenity, charging them with cowardice and remissness in his service, and commanding immediate compliance with his former order regarding the implicit adoption of the liturgy. Previously, however, to this haughty letter being received by the council, a vast number of other supplications had been laid before them; and twenty noblemen, a considerable number of barons, nearly a hundred ministers, and eighty-two commissioners from burghs and parishes, were waiting the result. (Stevenson, vol. ii. p. 199.) No sooner

were the contents of the king's letter divulged, than a decided stand was made by the numerous supplicants against injunctions so arbitrary and unreasonable. They accordingly concentrated all their petitions in one, which, as it shows the moderation and loyalty, as well as the earnest desire of these oppressed Presbyterians to enjoy their religious opinions in peace, we shall give here.

“Unto your lordships, humbly means and shows, we, noblemen, barons, ministers, burghers, and commons, occasionally here present, being most desirous to testify our loyalty to our dread sovereign, and to give obedience to his majesty's royal commandments; and considering that this new book of common prayer, which all his majesty's subjects, both ecclesiastical and civil, by open proclamation, are commanded to receive with reverence, as the only form to be used in God's public worship in this kingdom, and the contraveners to be condignly censured and punished, is introduced and urged in a way which this kirk has never been acquainted with, and containeth very many material points contrary to the acts of our national assemblies, his majesty's laws of this kingdom, and to the religion and form of worship estab-

lished and universally practised to the great comfort of all God's people, his majesty's subjects, since the reformation, which may tend to the great disquieting of their consciences, and to the hinderance of that harmony and comfort which, from the influence of his majesty's government, all do pray for and still expect: We do therefore in all humility supplicate, that your lordships, out of your care of religion, so seriously recommended to your lordships by his majesty, and your compassion on our present case, would be pleased fully to represent to his majesty these and the like considerations known to your lordships, that this affair of so great importance may not appear to his majesty a needless noise, but, as it is indeed, the very desire of our hearts, for the preservation of true religion amongst us, which is dearer to us than our lives and fortunes; and if this be refused, we humbly crave a hearing of our just grievances before your lordship's conclusion, that by your lordship's counsel, some way may be found whereby we may be delivered from the fear of this and all other innovation in this kind, and may have the happiness to enjoy the religion as it hath been, by the great mercy of God, reformed

in this land, and is authorized by his majesty who (we pray) may long and prosperously reign over us." (Stevenson, vol. ii. p. 201, &c.)

This joint petition was presented to the council by the Earls of Sutherland and Wemyss, and by the council it was committed to the Duke of Lennox, who was an eye-witness of the whole transaction, to be laid before his majesty. At the same time the council informed the petitioners, that as soon as the king's answer was received, they would immediately be made acquainted with its contents. With this assurance the petitioners were satisfied; and having returned thanks to the council, they separated and returned to their respective dwellings.

In the meantime the magistrates of Edinburgh, urged on by the provost, who was favourable to the arbitrary measures of government, were obliged to sanction the orders of the prelates for resuming the reading of the liturgy. For this purpose a meeting of the town council was convened on the 22d of September; but the purport of their meeting having previously been divulged, the inhabitants assembled in great numbers, and appearing before the council in a body, overawed them into a promise of joining the

petitioners against the oppressions of which they complained. A petition was accordingly drawn up by the magistrates, and laid before the privy council; and all parties anxiously waited the result of their supplications, an answer to which they expected would be returned by the king in the month of November. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 10.)

CHAPTER II.

The supplicants meet at Edinburgh—they are ordered by the council to leave the city—they draw up a formal complaint against the bishops—another tumult—character of the Presbyterian ministers—great increase of the petitioners—their union—erection of the TABLES—the king's answer to their supplications—conference between the Tables and the council—fruitless attempts to divide the petitioners—the king's proclamation against them—they protest against it—state of the country—renewal of the National Covenant—origin of the COVENANTERS—duplicity of Charles—Hamilton appointed commissioner—his instructions—his conferences with the covenanters—their demands—deceitful conduct of Hamilton—unsatisfactory concessions of Charles—his disgraceful schemes—general assembly at Glasgow—violent proceedings of the commissioner—overthrow of Prelacy, and complete restoration of Presbyterianism.

ALTHOUGH the greater part of the Presbyterians had left Edinburgh, in the expectation that no answer would be returned to their petitions till the 15th of November, yet their leaders still remained in the city. Nor

was this unnecessary : for shortly afterwards notice was given to the citizens, that they might expect an answer on the 18th of October. Suspecting this to be a new scheme of government to separate the town of Edinburgh from the other petitioners, expresses were immediately despatched to every part of the country, requesting a full attendance of the petitioners on the day appointed by the privy council. So universally was this summons obeyed, that, according to bishop Guthrie, "besides the increase of noblemen who had not been there formerly, there were few or no shires on the south side of the Grampian hills, from which came not burghers, ministers and commons." (Guth. Mem., p. 27.)

Having given into the council supplications against the liturgy from upwards of two hundred parishes, the petitioners divided themselves into separate bodies, of noblemen, ministers, and commons, each of which met privately, to ascertain more fully the minds of one another, regarding the evils of which they complained. These meetings were uniformly opened with prayer ; after which, the various objections to the service book were heard and considered. But while

they were thus employed, proclamations were issued, by order of the king, removing the council and the courts of justice to Linlithgow, and commanding all the petitioners to leave Edinburgh within twenty-four hours, on pain of being declared rebels. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 18.)

This measure, as impolitic as it was arbitrary, instead of disuniting the petitioners, as was intended, produced the very opposite effect. They determined not only to oppose the liturgy with as great unanimity as ever, but to draw up a formal complaint against the bishops as the authors of all the calamities which had come upon the church. This complaint was framed by the Earl of Loudon and David Dickson, and was subscribed by twenty-four noblemen, several hundreds of gentlemen, ministers, and commissioners of burghs, and shortly afterwards by every town in Scotland except Aberdeen. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 20.)

While the complainers were thus engaged, the citizens, chiefly females, enraged at the proclamation, besieged the house where the town-council was assembled, and demanded them to appoint commissioners to join with the rest of the country in their supplication

and complaint ; and to restore their ministers, Rollock and Ramsay, with Henderson a reader, who had been suspended for their opposition to the liturgy. Intimidated by this formidable band of matrons, the magistrates acceded to all their demands, nominating three of their number to concur with the other petitioners, and promising to restore the suspended ministers to their charges. Completely satisfied with these concessions, the crowd were quietly dispersing, when several of the females, meeting the Bishop of Galloway on the street, who, it was alleged, wore a crucifix of gold under his coat, laid hold on him and proceeded to use him with no small degree of violence. Being rescued from his perilous situation by several gentleman who happened to witness the affray, the bishop took refuge among the members of the privy council : but the crowd following him, besieged the council chamber and demanded that both he and the provost should be delivered up into their hands. Unable to extricate themselves from the unpleasant situation in which they were now placed, the council applied to the magistrates for assistance ; but they being in an equally awkward predicament, the council at length

found it necessary to solicit the assistance of the very noblemen whom they had so lately commanded to leave the city. Being thus freed from their assailants, the council issued a proclamation forbidding all meetings of the inhabitants, but permitting the nobles to remain in the city twenty-four hours longer. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 20. Stevenson, vol. ii. p. 225. Rapin, p. 301.)

Unintimidated by all the threatenings and disregarding all the repulses which they had received, the petitioners still determined to oppose in a legal manner the late innovations. Their leaders were men of wisdom, integrity and piety, whose sole object was the present and everlasting benefit of the people: and while they never ceased to strive against oppression and tyranny, they were the means of checking immorality and of promoting genuine godliness throughout the country. We are aware that the majority of historians have censured, if not decidedly condemned, their rigid and uncompromising opposition to every thing which seemed to savour of disobedience to the law of God; and even those who are deemed most impartial consider the terms, *puritans*, *enthusiasts*, *fanatics*, &c., as being their just

and incontrovertible designation. But until these authors can show that the Presbyterians of that age aimed at a greater degree of purity than the word of God enjoins, or that they were more enthusiastic for the doctrines and law of Christ than were the apostles or the primitive believers, we must say, that these names—as nearly allied to infidelity as they are to scurrility—are as inapplicable to them as they would have been to him who enjoined all professors of Christianity to “look diligently lest any man should fail of the grace of God, and lest any root of bitterness should spring up to trouble them, and thereby many be defiled.” (Heb. xii. 15.) Personal, family, and public humiliation, with solemn fasting for sin, prayer for the influences of the Holy Spirit, diligent study of the Scriptures, firm belief in the doctrines, and implicit obedience to the injunctions of Christ, were the themes on which the ministers uniformly dwelt; all which being exemplified in their own lives, produced the most salutary and beneficial effects among the people. Nor were they, amidst all their opposition to usurpation and tyranny, disloyal to their sovereign. The peculiar situation in which they were placed

rendered it necessary that they should act a decided part; yet all their petitions and supplications were couched in language most becoming; and even when afterwards they were compelled to proceed to greater lengths, it was not without a struggle, while the blame rested not on them, but on their unreasonable and lawless oppressors.

The short period which the privy council had granted to the nobles to remain in Edinburgh was not suffered to pass unimproved. They held a meeting that very evening in Lord Balmerino's lodgings, and after encouraging each other to continue their united opposition to the service book, they agreed to assemble again in as numerous a body as possible, on the 15th November, the day on which the return of the king's answer to their supplications was expected.

The number of petitioners who resorted to Edinburgh on the day appointed was much greater than on any former occasion, in consequence, says Guthrie, of "the ministers thundering so from the pulpits," (Guth. Mem., p. 31.) New accessions to the cause were also made from among the nobles, one of whom, the Earl of Montrose, was by all parties considered a great acquisition. In

the meantime, the council, who had met at Linlithgow on the 14th, adjourned the diet to Edinburgh, where, finding so vast a multitude, they began to feel some degree of alarm. They wrote, therefore, to the nobles, endeavouring to persuade them that their meeting so frequently, and in such numbers, was "informal, disorderly, and illegal." But while the noblemen vindicated their meetings from being contrary either to law or to justice, and showed that the numbers who were convened, could occasion no disorder, being divided into different companies, and transacting all their business within doors, they at the same time expressed their readiness to choose a few noblemen, two gentlemen for each county, one minister for each presbytery, and one burghess for each burgh, as commissioners for the whole body, to await the return of the king's answer (Baillie, vol. i. p. 23.) To this proposal the privy council agreed, and thus unintentionally, gave their sanction to the formation of an authority quite unprecedented in the kingdom.

Agreeably to this arrangement, commissioners were immediately chosen from the general body of the supplicants, who, from

their division into four different classes, according to their rank, were denominated the TABLES. Finding, however, from the tardy manner in which the government acted, that it would be inconvenient as well as unnecessary to retain the whole of the commissioners in Edinburgh, a committee of four from each table was appointed to reside in the city to watch over and conduct the business of the numerous petitioners, with full powers to convene the whole body in cases of necessity;* after which the people quietly dispersed and returned to their respective habitations.

Although the bishops plainly perceived that a storm was gathering around them, yet, instead of endeavouring to avert its fury by timely concessions, they, in general, acted the same domineering and insolent part that they had done hitherto, enforcing, where it could be done with impunity, the use of a book which was held in almost universal de-

* The members of this standing committee were as follows:—The Earls of Rothes and Montrose, Lords Lindsay and Loudon; the lairds of Keir, Cunninghamhead and Auldbar; James Cochrane and John Smith, late baillies of Edinburgh; the provost of Culross; James Cunningham, minister of Cumnock, and Thomas Ramsay, minister of Dumfries.—Baillie, vol. i. p. 27.

testation.* Nor did Charles act a wiser part. He commissioned, indeed, the Earl of Roxburgh to convey his answer to the supplications of his Scottish subjects, but, as if sporting with their feelings, as well as regardless of the consequences to himself, he gave the earl despatches, which he could not but know would never restore tranquillity. The proclamation issued when these despatches were received by the privy council, after expressing the resentment of the monarch at the tumult of the 18th of October, which he affirmed to be not only barbarous and insolent, but the cause of his delay in returning an answer, thus proceeds: "Yet as his majesty abhors all superstitions of popery, so he will ever be most careful that nothing be allowed within his majesty's dominions but that which shall tend to the advancement of religion, as it is presently professed within this his majesty's ancient kingdom of Scotland." Although the phrase "the religion presently professed," was a mean artifice, evidently intended to refer to prelacy with all its grievances, and received as such by the Presbyte-

* Wedderburn, bishop of Brechin, even took pistols in his pocket to the pulpit in case of resistance, and read the liturgy to a few before the usual hour of public worship.

rians, yet the Tables, professing to consider it as the king's sentiments in favour of presbytery, turned his own weapons against himself, and now pleaded the royal edict against the detested innovations. (Rapin, vol. ii. p. 302. Stev. Hist., vol. ii. p. 237.)

In vain did the council endeavour, either to bribe or to separate them. At a meeting of that body held on the 9th of December in the Holyroodhouse, the noblemen, who had again returned to Edinburgh, together with commissioners from the Tables, were invited to a conference. Here Traquair, the treasurer, expatiated on the king's condescension, and strongly insisted on the necessity of their being satisfied with his majesty's concession, to give up the use of the liturgy, which, he said, was evidently implied in the late proclamation. But the petitioners were not to be imposed upon so easily. They plainly perceived, that in the proclamation there was no security whatever for their enjoying the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion; and they, therefore, now insisted, not only on the formal and open renunciation of the service book, but on the suppression of the book of canons and court of high commission. The council, finding all

their artifices to be ineffectual, as a last resource determined to divide the supplicants, by recommending that each county should petition separately. But here too they failed, the commissioners resolutely resolving to unite in one joint petition against grievances of which *all* complained. Agreeably to this resolution, the commissioners again presented their united supplication, to the council at Dalkeith, who, after several fruitless attempts to evade receiving their complaints, found it necessary to promise them a hearing on the 21st of December. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 28. Stevenson, vol. ii. p. 248.)

On the day appointed, the commissioners appeared before the council, now composed only of laymen, and renewed their complaints against the service book and the bishops, which they enforced in speeches at once pathetic and convincing. Before they left the council, Traquair exhorted the ministers to instruct the people to be loyal to their sovereign, and not to entertain harsh thoughts of him concerning matters of religion. To which James Cunningham, minister of Cumnock, replied, "Our consciences and our hearers were our witnessess, that we endeavoured to carry ourselves suitably in this respect,

neither had we ever a thought to the contrary ; but his majesty was wronged, after the manner that Ahasuerus was wronged by Haman, and we are looking to see the way of the Lord's righteousness in his appointed time." The council then assured the commissioners that they had their cause at heart, but being prohibited by his majesty from interfering further at present, they requested them to wait patiently till new instructions were received from court. (Crawford, p. 97. Bailie, vol. i. p. 29.)

The council having faithfully represented the state of Scotland to Charles, and plainly pointed out to him the necessity of making some concessions to the petitioners, the king ordered Traquair to repair to London. Previous to his arrival, however, Sir Robert Spotswood, president of the court of session, had completely prejudiced the king's mind against the Presbyterians ; and being assisted in his infamous counsels by Laud and the Archbishop of St. Andrews, Traquair found that all his laudable efforts to undeceive his sovereign produced no effect. On the contrary, Charles ordered the treasurer immediately to repair to Scotland with a proclamation, which in the meantime he was to

keep a profound secret, vindicating the bishops, enforcing the liturgy, and prohibiting meetings of any kind to petition against the late innovations. Notwithstanding the secrecy of Traquair's instructions, the Tables received intelligence of their purport previous to his return to Edinburgh. They however waited on him to hear what answer he had to give from his majesty to their petitions; but all they could obtain was, an advice to avoid meeting in such numerous bodies. The alarm was therefore immediately given to all the petitioners in every corner of the kingdom, with injunctions to them to attend the commissioners in the present critical state of affairs.

The council was to meet at Stirling on the 20th of February, 1638, to receive the despatches of the court from Traquair; but perceiving the multitudes who from every quarter were assembling in Edinburgh, and learning that deputies from the petitioners were to proceed to Stirling to watch their movements, they sent for several of the commissioners, and endeavoured to persuade them to do nothing till the proclamation was published. According to the general opinion which then prevailed, even a royal edict was

nullified, or at least suspended in its operations, if timely met by a legal protest. The commissioners, therefore, aware of the danger to which they were exposed, expressed their determination to proceed, whatever consequences might ensue. Perceiving their fixed resolution, Traquair asked them, what they intended to do after they did assemble? "To give in a declinature," they replied, "against the bishops." "But that will be refused," said Traquair. "Then, upon the council's denial of justice," rejoined they, "we will protest for remeid, and have immediate recourse to his majesty with our supplications." "I doubt," added Traquair, "if they will be received by the king." "We will, however, do our duty," they replied, "and commit the event to God, who is wise in counsel and excellent in working, and sufficiently able to protect his own cause and our just proceedings." (Baillie, vol. i. p. 42. Stevenson, vol. ii. p. 2.)

The meeting at Stirling being fixed for the following Tuesday, the petitioners appointed four or five of their number to proceed to that town on Monday, the rest of the commissioners resolving to follow. But Traquair, in order to prevent their meeting, left Edin-

burgh very early on Monday morning along with Roxburgh, with the intention of publishing the proclamation before their arrival. In this, however, he was again disappointed. For the Tables, having received information of their abrupt departure, immediately despatched Lords Lindsay and Hume after them, who outriding them, arrived in Stirling previous to the issuing of the proclamation. No sooner, therefore, did the herald appear at the market cross, and publish the royal edict, than these two lords, with a notary, solemnly protested against it, and affixed a copy of their protest to the cross. Similar precautions were used in every other place where the proclamation was published. (Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 732.)

It was now evident to all parties that affairs were hastening to a crisis. Charles had not only absolutely refused to redress the grievances of his Scottish subjects, but prohibited them from laying before him any further supplications of a similar import. To be denied liberty to lay their complaints by humble petition at the foot of the throne, was depriving the Presbyterians of all remainder of liberty ; and can any true friend, either to his king or his country, after witnessing all

this oppression and tyranny, condemn these men, for refusing again to put their necks under the yoke? or stigmatize them as rebels for taking more decisive steps to rescue their nation from the iron grasp of monarchial and prelatical usurpation?

Accordingly, finding that all their efforts to obtain deliverance from the evils of which they so justly complained, were of no avail, the leaders of the Presbyterians resolved to take other measures, which they trusted would effectually unite all the friends of religion and liberty throughout the country. This was the renewing of the national covenant, which had been sworn by king James and his household in the year 1580, and by persons of all ranks in 1581, 1590, and 1596, and ratified by several acts of parliament. In addition to the original covenant, all the innovations which had been lately introduced were explicitly condemned in this new bond; and while its adherents bound themselves by oath to resist all these or similar encroachments on their religious liberties, and to defend each other in maintaining the true religion, they also engaged to defend the king in the preservation of religion, liberty and law. But while we would refer

the reader to the covenant itself, we cannot avoid transcribing the following nervous defence of this interesting bond, condemned indeed by too many in gross ignorance, as given by Aikman. "This bond," says that impartial historian, "was only reverting to the principles recognised at the Reformation, and restoring the constitution then established. When a king wantonly tramples upon all his subjects hold sacred, he himself breaks the bond of allegiance, and they have a right, if they have the power, to unite and reclaim what has been tyrannically torn from them. The legality, with regard to form, is all that can be urged against the national covenant; and the best lawyers of the day, and even Hope, the King's advocate, pronounced the proceedings of the Covenanters legal. They had precedents, acts of parliament, and the repeated sanction of royalty, for such associations; and their obligations to obey the king and defend his person, are as explicitly stated as any other obligation in the covenant. It is true, this is linked with the preservation of religion, liberty, and law; but what other obedience would any upright prince require? Should they have pledged their support to the mon-

arch in opposition to all these? To this much vilified bond every Scotchman ought to look with as great reverence as Englishmen do to the Magna Charta. It was what saved the country from absolute despotism, and to it we may trace back the origin of all the successful efforts made by the inhabitants of Britain in defence of their freedom, during the succeeding reigns of the Stuarts." (Aikman's Hist. of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 452, 453.)

The day appointed for swearing the covenant in Edinburgh was the 1st of March, a day which was also set apart for solemn fasting and prayer. The people resorted in vast numbers to the Greyfriar's church, where the covenant being read, and earnest prayer offered up to God by Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, the nobles, gentry, ministers and commons, with uplifted hands, and tears streaming from their eyes, vowed, in the presence of God, faithfully to observe all its stipulations, and then affixed to it their signatures with the utmost joy.* The solemn dedi-

* The original copy of the covenant was written on a very large skin of parchment, of the length of four feet, and depth of three feet eight inches, and is so crowded with names on both sides, that there is not the smallest space left for more; and it appears that when there was but little room left on which to sign, the subscriptions were shortened by only inserting the initial letters of

cation of themselves to the Lord, and to the promotion of his cause, by so many thousands of every rank and age, was truly affecting; and while it inspired the friends of the covenant with renewed vigour, it completely destroyed all the remaining hopes of their prelatical oppressors. "Now," exclaimed the Archbishop of Glasgow in despair, "all that we have been doing these thirty years past is at once thrown down." (Guth. Mem. p. 35.) The Tables immediately afterwards transmitted copies of the covenant to every part of the country; and by the end of April, nearly the whole of Scotland, excepting courtiers, papists, prelates, and a few of the conforming clergy, chiefly in Aberdeen, cheerfully attached to it their signatures. (Livingston's Life, p. 22. Row, p. 329.) Such is the origin of the COVENANTERS.

Appalled at the determined spirit thus manifested by the nation in defence of their rights, both civil and religious, the privy council ventured again to solicit his majesty to take the grievances of the Covenanters into consideration, and to grant them such conces-

the Covenanters' names, which the margin and other parts are so full of, and the subscriptions so close, that it would be a difficult task to number them."—Maitland's Hist., p. 86.

sions as he should judge proper. They also appointed Sir John Hamilton of Orbiston, lord justice clerk, to proceed to London, to give the king a faithful account of all that had taken place in Scotland. The representations of the council prevailed so far with Charles, as to induce him to send for Traquair, Roxburgh, and Lord Lorn, to assist with their counsels in devising measures for restoring tranquillity to that kingdom.

While the king and his counsellors were engaged in these deliberations, several presbyteries ordained ministers without acknowledging the bishops, removed their constant moderators, and restored the suspended ministers to their respective charges. The people, too, who had been long oppressed and tyrannized over by the prelates and their dependents, now ventured to show their antipathy to these intruders. In several instances, outrages were committed on the authors of their wrongs, which, however discouraged and inveighed against by their leaders, could hardly be expected, in the present state of the country, not to occur.

In the meantime Charles—having, absurdly enough, determined to endeavour to conciliate the Covenanters, without granting them

deliverance from the grievances of which they complained—appointed the Marquis of Hamilton as his high commissioner to proceed to Scotland ; and, in a letter to the privy council, ordered all the members to meet him at Dalkeith on the 6th of June. Previous to his arrival, however, the nature of his instructions, which among other things required the Covenanters to abandon the solemn bond they had so lately sworn, had transpired ; and despatches were therefore sent to every part of the country, requiring a full attendance of the people in Edinburgh. This order was immediately obeyed, and a day of humiliation and fasting was appointed to be kept by the many thousands who were now assembled in the metropolis. When Hamilton therefore came to Dalkeith, he found that it would be highly imprudent to insist upon that part of his instructions which required the covenant to be relinquished ; for even a hint afterwards given concerning that subject, called forth from the complainers a declaration, that “they would as soon renounce their baptism as the covenant.” But while he artfully enough endeavoured to lull their fears, by promising to grant them considerable concessions, he at the same time at-

tempted to supply Edinburgh castle with arms and ammunition, and advised Charles to raise troops in order to reduce the Covenanters to obedience by force of arms.* His efforts to convey the military stores, which had now arrived at Leith, to the castle of Edinburgh, were however completely frustrated; and he found it necessary therefore to send them secretly to Dalkeith. Filled with alarm at these hostile indications, the Covenanters, imagining that the Tables were to be blown up, blockaded the castle and placed armed guards at the city gates; and it re-

* With this advice Charles immediately complied; and on the 20th of June he wrote to Hamilton as follows: "My train of artillery, consisting of forty pieces of ordnance, is in good forwardness, and I hope will be ready within six weeks.—I have taken as good orders as I can for securing Carlisle and Berwick.—I have sent for arms to Holland, for 14,000 foot and 2000 horse. For my ships they are ready; and I have given orders to send three for the coast of Ireland immediately, under pretence to defend our fishermen, &c. Thus you may see that I intend not to yield to the demands of those traitors the Covenanters." Again, on the 28th he thus writes, "There be two things in your letter that require answer, viz. the answer to their petition, and concerning the explanation of their damnable covenant. For the first, the telling you that I have not changed my mind in this particular, is answer sufficient; and for the second, I will only say, that so long as this covenant is in force, (whether it be with or without explanation,) I have no more power in Scotland than has a duke of Venice, which I will rather die than suffer; yet I commend the giving ear to the explanation, or any thing else to win time." Burnet, pp. 59, 60.

quired the utmost prudence as well as artifice on the part of the commissioner to allay the storm which he himself had so injudiciously raised.

Having at length induced the Covenanters to remove the blockade from the castle and dismiss the guards, Hamilton entered Edinburgh with great pomp amidst nearly sixty thousand spectators. At his request, the people were also sent away to their respective homes, after choosing deputies to wait the result of their supplications. With these deputies Hamilton had several conferences, in which he endeavoured either to gain them by flattery or overawe them by threats, to abandon their covenant; but all his efforts were of no avail. Perceiving at length that the commissioner, while thus trifling with them, had no powers to make any concessions in their favour, the deputies drew up a paper containing the following articles, which they circulated as extensively as possible, in order that it might fall into the hands of the privy council:—"1. Seeing that the grievances complained of concern the whole kingdom, the remedies ought to be public and of as large extent. 2. A free general assembly and parliament are only able to procure so

good effects. 3. The bishops could not be their judges until they were lawfully tried and cleared of the crimes laid to their charge.

4. If delays were used, it was desired what advice might be sought concerning the power of calling a general assembly, how they should in the meantime behave with respect to controverted points, and that some lawful course might be thought upon how justice might have free course and frauds be prevented. And, 5. If violence were used for enforcing obedience, that a committee should be chosen to consider what was fit and lawful to be done for the defence of their religion, laws, and liberties." (Stevenson, vol. ii. p. 352.

The avowed determination of the deputies expressed in these articles, induced the commissioner to promise them an answer to their supplications in a few days; but when the time arrived, all the reply he gave them was, an intimation of his intention to proclaim his majesty's declaration. Aware that this was at once to preclude all further applications for relief, as well as a tacit condemnation of their former proceedings, the displeasure of the deputies at this new act of dissimulation may well be conceived. They

therefore boldly informed his grace, that if he persisted in carrying his purpose into effect, they would openly meet the declaration^d with a protest. The Marquis resolved, however, to proceed, and ordered preparations to be made at the cross for its immediate publication; but on the appearance of a scaffold which was erected for the protestors, surrounded by a numerous guard of gentlemen, he found it prudent to desist. Having then attempted to conciliate them, by promising them, in his majesty's name, a free parliament and a general assembly, he proposed to set off for London to receive further instructions and an enlarged commission; and it was agreed that all further proceedings on either side should be stopped till his return, (Baillie, vol. i. p. 68.)

While the fears of the Covenanters were thus in some measure quieted, Hamilton again appeared at the cross with the heralds on the 30th of June. Afraid of this being a new attempt to publish the declaration, the Covenanters instantly repaired to the spot; but to their agreeable surprise, they found it to be the announcement of the return of the courts of law to Edinburgh. On the day following he set out on his intended journey,

and proceeded as far as Tranent; but hastily returning, he caused the contested proclamation to be published, expecting that none of his opponents would be present. In this he was, however, sadly disappointed; for the Tables, ever on the alert, in his presence protested against it, and shortly afterwards gave in their reasons to the privy council. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 69. Stev. Hist. vol. ii. p. 361.)

Hamilton immediately afterwards repaired to London. The preparations of Charles for war had been rapidly carrying forward; but on the suggestion of the marquis, he agreed once more to try conciliatory measures, yet with a strange infatuation, he refused to grant any of the Covenanters' demands. In order to divide them, it was agreed to set on foot what was called "a king's covenant," namely, that sworn by King James, which, maintaining the religion *then* professed, namely, Presbyterianism, Charles designed to refer to Episcopacy. Hamilton also received instructions to summon, at as late a period as possible, a general assembly, in which the bishops were to be received as memöers; and to "yield any thing, though unreasonable, rather than now to break," till a sufficient force was ready to overwhelm the Covenant-

ers in irremediable ruin. (Burnet's Mem. p. 55.)

With these instructions Hamilton repaired to Scotland, and arrived at Edinburgh on the 10th of August. Being waited on by the Tables, to hear his majesty's answer to their supplications, the commissioner proposed to them the two following conditions previous to calling a general assembly, viz. "1. That no laymen should have voice in choosing the ministers to be sent from the several presbyteries to the assembly, nor any but the ministers of the same presbytery; and, 2. That the assembly should not go about to determine things established by act of parliament, otherwise than by remonstrance or petition to the parliament." These conditions being evidently intended to frustrate the designs of the Covenanters in the calling of an assembly, as well as an innovation on Presbyterian church government,* were not only rejected, but the marquis was distinctly informed that if he still persisted in refusing them redress, they themselves would indict a free assem-

* From the time of the Reformation in Scotland, lay members were considered a constituent part of Presbyterian church courts; as appears from the first Book of Discipline, acts of Assembly 1563, 1568, &c.; nay, when the presbytery of Edinburgh was formed in 1581, it consisted of fifteen ministers, and "elders out of every kirk."

bly. Alarmed at this intimation, which he conceived to be an encroachment on the royal prerogative, Hamilton requested delay till he again repaired to London; which the Covenanters granted till the 20th of September, on the following conditions, "That the assembly should be free both as to the members of which it should consist, and the matters which should be discussed; and that it should be speedily convened, and in the most convenient place."

On his arrival in London, the marquis informed Charles of the distracted state of Scotland; and urged him either to comply with the demands of the Covenanters, or declare them rebels, and reduce them to obedience by military force. Being still unprepared for war, the king found it necessary to make concessions, which, had they been sincere, or granted at an earlier period, would have at once satisfied his Scottish subjects. These were, the abolition of the court of high commission; the recall of the liturgy and book of canons; the rescinding of the articles of Perth; and the calling of a parliament and a free assembly, before which the bishops, if necessary, might be legally prosecuted. But while all these concessions were contained in

the commissioner's public instructions, he was secretly enjoined to sow discord among the Presbyterians, and to prevent the innovations complained of from being removed. (Burnet's Mem. p. 74. Rush. vol. ii. p. 762.)

When Hamilton arrived in Scotland, he convened the privy council, and intimated the design of Charles to renew the national covenant of 1580. This was at first opposed by several members, but at length acquiesced in with an explanation. The Tables, on the other hand, having embodied that covenant in the one which had so lately been sworn—aware that the clause, “the religion presently professed,” which, in 1580, was intended to refer solely to Presbyterianism, was by Charles meant to comprehend all the innovations subsequently introduced—unanimously resolved to protest against its being subscribed by the nation. Accordingly on the 22d of September, deputies from the Tables waited on the marquis and requested him to delay for two days the proclamation concerning the old covenant, for reasons which they offered to lay before the council. But Hamilton determined to proceed; and therefore ordered a proclamation to be published that same day, requiring all ranks to

subscribe the king's covenant, and indicting an assembly to be held at Glasgow on the 21st of November, and a parliament at Edinburgh on the 15th of May 1639. The injunction to subscribe the old covenant was immediately met by a protest in all places where it was published; and, notwithstanding the zealous exertions of the commissioner, very few joined the court party, except in Aberdeen. (Stev. Hist. vol. ii. p. 416. et seq. Baillie, vol. i. p. 63.)

The greatest preparations were now made, both by the Covenanters and the commissioner, for the meeting of the assembly. In spite of Hamilton and his adherents, lay elders, according to the ancient practice, were admitted members of presbyteries, and allowed to vote in the choice of a commissioner to the assembly; and a ruling elder from each presbytery was likewise returned as a member of the supreme court. In short, by the active measures of the Covenanters, the most zealous friends to the cause were chosen members of the assembly. On the other hand, Hamilton endeavoured to thwart their measures, by procuring an act of council limiting the number of individuals who should repair to Glasgow; and when this

failed, he earnestly pressed the members of the privy council to pass an act, according to his majesty's injunctions, limiting, but not abolishing, Episcopacy. With this, however, they declined to comply; nay, Sir Thomas Hope, the king's advocate, though threatened at his peril, decidedly refused to defend the cause of Episcopacy before the ensuing General Assembly. (Burnet's Mem. p. 92. Baillie, vol. i. p. 87.)

Several days in the beginning of November having been spent in public fasting and prayer, the assembly met on Wednesday the 21st of that month, in the high church of Glasgow. It consisted of one hundred and forty ministers, forty-seven ruling elders, and forty-eight commissioners from burghs and universities. Mr. John Bell, the oldest minister of Glasgow, having preached an appropriate sermon from Rev. i. 12, 13, "I saw seven golden candlesticks, and in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks one like unto the Son of Man," &c., solemnly constituted the assembly in the name of Christ, as the only king and head of the church.* Ham-

* We mean to give an outline only, and that as briefly as possible, of this famous assembly, our limits precluding any thing like a lengthened account of its interesting proceedings. For a minute detail of its

ilton then gave in his commission, which was read and received ; he was followed by the several commissioners from presbyteries, burghs, and universities ; but the examination of their commissions was deferred till the election of a moderator and clerk. This, according to the design of the government to thwart all the assembly's proceedings, was opposed by the marquis, who insisted on the commissions being examined previous to the choosing of a moderator ; and entered his protest against their proceedings when he found that he could not carry his point. Alexander Henderson of Leuchars, one of the most eminent ministers of the Scottish church, was then chosen moderator, and Archibald Johnston, advocate, clerk.*

After examining the commissions, and transacting some other business of minor importance, a declinature from the bishops was read, in which they refused to acknowledge the assembly as a competent tribunal, chiefly on account of the presence of laymen,

twenty-six sessions, we must refer the reader to Baillie's Letters, or Stevenson's History.

* To Mr. Johnston the assembly were indebted for the recovery of their registers, which they imagined to have been either lost or destroyed. At their third session he produced five volumes, which, with two already in their possession, made the registers of the church complete.

whom they disdainfully held up to scorn, for presuming to sit as judges on the conduct of archbishops and bishops! No sooner was this paper read than the accusers of the prelates took instruments in the clerk's hands, that the bishops had by this deed acknowledged their citation, and that therefore their wilful absence should not be sustained. Against this also Hamilton protested, being determined to support the dignity, and uphold the credit, of the now fallen prelates, whom he uniformly called by the title of "Lords of the clergy!"* The declinature of the bishops being satisfactorily answered by Messrs. Johnston and Calderwood in very lengthened papers, in which the admission of elders as members of assembly was fully established, the moderator put the question, "whether or not this assembly found themselves competent judges of the bishops, notwithstanding their declinature?" But previous to the vote being taken, the commissioner rose and addressed the assembly in the following terms:—"I should, perhaps, have continued a little longer with you, if

* Perceiving that he was unable to control the assembly, Hamilton had already written to Charles to hasten his military preparations, and to obtain by force of arms what was utterly unattainable either by flattery or fraud.

you had not fallen upon a point which doth enforce my deserting you: You are now about to settle the lawfulness of this judicatory, and the competency of it against the bishops, whom you have cited thither, neither of which I can allow, if I shall discharge either my duty towards God, or loyalty towards my gracious and just master. This is a day to me both of gladness and sadness; gladness in that I have seen this assembly meet, and that I shall now, in his majesty's name, make good unto you all his most gracious offers in his royal proclamation: of sadness, in that you who have called so much for a free general assembly, and having one most free in his majesty's intentions granted you, have so handled and marred the matter, that there is not the least shadow of freedom to be discerned in this your meeting; for the former, which is the discharge and performance of your sovereign's gracious promises, let this paper, which I deliver to the clerk to be read, witness it to you all." He then gave to the clerk the king's proclamation, containing the concessions formerly mentioned; which being read, he requested that the assembly might be dissolved, and a new election made agreeably to the wishes of the

king. This being of course refused, the commissioner intimated his determination to depart. In vain did the moderator, Lord Loudon, and the Earl of Rothes entreat him to remain. Having again, without success, insisted on the moderator closing the assembly by prayer, he, in his majesty's name, dissolved the meeting, and prohibited them from transacting any further business. (Burnet's Mem., p. 106. Apologetical Relation, p. 50.)

Against this abrupt and arbitrary proceeding of the commissioner, a protest was given in by the Earl of Rothes, and read by the clerk; and when Hamilton next day issued a proclamation dissolving the assembly under pain of treason, he was met by a similar protest in the public street. In the meantime the assembly, unintimidated by the commissioner's threats, resolved to continue their sittings, and to carry forward the work of reformation. In this resolution they were encouraged by the accession of the Marquis of Argyle and Lord Erskine, the former of whom remained with them till the conclusion of the session, and assisted them in all their deliberations. The assembly then proceeded in their business; and having declared

the six preceding corrupt assemblies, namely those from 1608 to 1618, (*Apologetical Relation*, p. 51.) which had been overawed by arbitrary authority, null and void, they rescinded the five articles of Perth, condemned the liturgy, book of canons and high commission courts, and in short, completely abolished prelacy, and restored Presbyterianism to its original purity. (*Baillie*, vol. i. p. 123, et seq. *Naphtali*, p. 140.)

The next step of the assembly was the trial of the bishops, against whom charges were given in of oppression and tyranny, Arminian and popish doctrines, and the most flagrant disregard to morality, such as adultery, drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, bribery, profane swearing, and many other grievous and abominable crimes. (*Rush*. vol. ii. p. 787.) These charges being clearly proved to the conviction of all, two archbishops and six bishops were excommunicated, four were deposed, and two suspended from their ecclesiastical functions; and a number of unworthy ministers, whose doctrine and conduct gave universal offence, were at the same time either suspended or deposed from the office of the ministry.

Having passed several important acts, such

as one prohibiting any minister from having a seat in parliament, or exercising civil authority; another, approving the late covenant; and a third, determining the power of assemblies to fix their own times and places of meeting, (Row. p. 208, &c.,) the next assembly was appointed to be held at Edinburgh, on the third Wednesday of July, 1639, and a humble petition ordered to be laid before Charles, requesting his majesty's approbation of the several acts which had been passed by this assembly. The moderator then addressed his brethren in an eloquent and pathetic speech, after which he dissolved the court, by pronouncing the apostolic benediction. "We have now," said he, "cast down the walls of Jericho: Let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite." "And so," adds Baillie, "we all departed with great comfort and humble joy, casting ourselves and our poor church in the arms of our good God." (Baillie, vol. i. p. 149.

CHAPTER III.

Charles declares war against the Scots—preparations of the Covenanters—proceedings in the North—Hamilton arrives with a fleet in the Frith—the Covenanters march to the borders—description of the Scottish camp—alarm of the English—a treaty concluded—general assembly—Charles violates the treaty—both sides prepare for war—assembly at Aberdeen—the Covenanters' army enter England—their success—a negotiation commenced—proceedings of the English parliament—treaty concluded—general assembly at Edinburgh. Scottish parliament—Charles visits Scotland—massacre of the Protestants in Ireland—English commissioners arrive in Edinburgh—Solemn League and Covenant framed—it is sworn in both kingdoms.

THE proceedings of the assembly at Glasgow could not but enrage a monarch who had already pronounced its members to be rebels. Instead of viewing himself and his prelatical advisers as the cause of all the disturbances which had taken place in Scotland, he threw the whole blame on the Covenanters; and, like Pharaoh of old, so hardened his heart, that nothing but the destruction of these men—the most loyal but the most oppressed portion of his people—would give him satisfaction. For this purpose, he ordered his military preparations to be carried on with the utmost expedition: and while Huntly was to be assisted in the North with an extensive

naval armament, he himself was to lead a land army of thirty thousand horse and foot into Scotland; (Burnet's Mem. p. 113. Clarendon, vol, i. p. 115, et seq.) to defray the expenses of which, large contributions were made by the English clergy.*

Perceiving the fixed resolution of Charles again to reduce the Scottish nation to the worst species of slavery, the Tables considered it high time to make preparations for their own defence. It is true, that many who had sworn the covenant, hesitated at first to take up arms against their monarch; but, on the issuing of a proclamation by the king, denouncing them as traitors and rebels who intended to invade England, and the publication of a manifesto by the Tables on "the lawfulness of defensive arms,"† the ranks of

* "By the advice of Laud," says Whitelock, "the king hastened his levies of men and money without consent of parliament. And because this was the bishops' war it was held fit that they should contribute largely towards the preservation of their own hierarchy. Accordingly, orders were issued from the council to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and to the other bishops to give largely, which they did, and about £1000, was raised in each diocese by a medium; the doctors of the commons gave £700, and the papists, by directions from the queen, contributed largely."

† This able paper, which was drawn up by Mr. Henderson, proves, were proof necessary, that this war was not only lawful on the part of the Covenanters, but forced upon them contrary to their inclinations, and engaged in

the Covenanters' army were soon filled by zealous friends to the cause from every part of the country. Having next circulated declarations in England, vindicating themselves from the calumnies which had been heaped upon them, and assuring their English brethren that they had no hostile intention against them in their present preparations, the Tables made every exertion to put the kingdom in a state of defence. Experienced officers were appointed to train the people to the use of arms; a committee was chosen to reside at Edinburgh to superintend and manage all their affairs; and General Leslie, who had served on the continent under the famous Gustavus, was invited home to take command of the army. In short, throughout the country, the preparations for war were carried on with an alacrity and pious zeal, which might have served as a warning to the tyrannical monarch, who was already involved in disputes with his English subjects, to retrace his unjust and arbitrary steps. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 153.)

But Charles was already on his march to-

for the purpose of preventing "utter ruin and desolation being brought on the kirk and kingdom—on themselves and their posterity."

wards Scotland at the head of a numerous army. Aware, therefore, of the necessity of losing no time in commencing operations, the Covenanters resolved to secure as many of the places of strength in the kingdom as possible, before marching against their invading foes. Accordingly, on the 23d of March, 1639, they attacked and made themselves masters of the castle of Edinburgh; and on the same day, the castle of Dumbarton fell into their hands. Dalkeith house—in which were found the arms and ammunition intended for Edinburgh castle, with the regalia of Scotland—together with Strathaven, Tantallon, and Douglas castles, followed; in short, the only place of strength which remained in the hands of those attached to the government was the castle of Carlaverock. Leith, too, and the opposite coast of Fife, were strongly fortified, and beacons were set up in every shire to alarm the country in case of any sudden invasion. (Guth. Mem. p. 46. Baillie, vol. i. p. 158. Burnet's Mem., p. 115.)

In the north country, however, there were many who, chiefly by Huntly's means, were still disposed to espouse the cause of tyranny. Huntly, having collected a considerable force, fortified Aberdeen, where the chief strength of

the opponents to the covenant lay, and seemed to bid defiance to all the friends of liberty; but, on the appearance of Montrose with eight thousand men, he retired further north. Montrose accordingly entered Aberdeen, and having demolished the fortifications, with a zeal which by no means can be commended, he compelled the refractory inhabitants of that town to attach their signatures to the covenant. (Row, p. 344.) This measure, though perhaps deemed prudent by Montrose, was far from being sanctioned by the Tables, who, according to their own declarations, required all subscribers to that bond to be volunteers. Montrose also, not very honourably, soon afterwards carried Huntly and his son to Edinburgh, where they were confined in the castle till the treaty with Charles. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 160.)

The decisive measures which were adopted by the Covenanters, did not in the smallest degree abate their ardent desires for peace, which, on the contrary, they endeavoured to maintain by laying anew their humble supplications at the foot of the throne. But Charles was inexorable. A fleet with five thousand troops on board, under the com-

mand of the Marquis of Hamilton, had already sailed, and shortly afterwards cast anchor in Leith Roads. The alarm was immediately given to the country by setting fire to the beacons; and before Hamilton could make any use of his fleet, the shores on either side of the Frith were guarded by twenty thousand armed men. Thus pent up, Hamilton sent a fruitless summons to the provost of Edinburgh, to surrender the city and the port of Leith. He then transmitted an order to the town council, requiring them to publish a proclamation from Charles, promising indeed the Covenanters religious liberty, but declaring them traitors and rebels unless they should lay down their arms within eight days. (Burnet's Mem., p. 123.) This mandate the town council refused to obey; and Hamilton's troops being in the meantime reduced to great distress both from want of water, and from the ravages of the small-pox, the fleet was shortly afterwards recalled. Previous, however, to leaving the Frith, Hamilton was requested to procure for the nation a free parliament, the meeting of that assembly, which should have taken place on the 15th of May,

having been prorogued by an order from Charles.*

Notwithstanding their success hitherto, the affairs of the Covenanters at this period seemed to wear a foreboding aspect. The royal army was on its march to the borders; their enemies were again in possession of Aberdeen; the west was threatened by an invasion from Ireland; and the trade of the country was materially injured by the king's fleet. Having therefore betaken themselves anew to fasting and prayer, the leaders of the Covenanters despatched Montrose a second time to the north. The marquis, having entered Aberdeen with four thousand men, first severely punished the faithless inhabitants of that city, and then marched against the Gordons, who had also appeared in arms against the Covenanters. In the meantime Aboyne, who had received a commission from the king, arrived at Aberdeen with nearly four thousand men, and retook that city, the inhabitants of which he found to be as inimical as ever to the covenant, which at his desire they solemnly

* The greater part of the members had assembled in Edinburgh, when they were met by the king's mandate, which they readily obeyed, after appointing Leslie commander in chief of the Scottish army. Baillie, vol. i. p. 166.

abjured. (Row, p. 356. Baillie, vol. i. p. 169.) But on the reappearance of Montrose, who gained a decisive victory over Aboyne, that unhappy city fell once more into his hands, and was saved from being pillaged only by the arrival of despatches announcing the treaty between Charles and his Scottish subjects.

In the meantime the main army of the Covenanters, under General Leslie, had arrived at the borders. Leslie encamped at Dunglass, and Monro, who had collected a considerable number of troops in Dumfries, Wigton, and Kirkcudbright, lay at Kelso. The royal army had pitched at Birks, a plain on the south side of the Tweed, about three miles from Berwick. The approach of the Covenanters filled the English army with so much alarm, that Charles found it necessary to issue a milder proclamation, promising, on a demonstration of their obedience in civil matters, to grant their just supplications, but commanding their army not to approach within ten miles of the royal camp, under pain of being declared rebels. The Covenanters hailed this proclamation as a token of peace, which they still earnestly desired, and implicitly complied with his majesty's injunctions. But

imagining that their obedience proceeded from timidity, Charles, at the suggestion of the excommunicated prelates, published another proclamation, "offering indemnity to all, except a few, who should within eight days lay down their arms, declaring those who would not obey, to be rebels, and setting a price on the heads of their leaders." This proclamation was made at Dunse, and attempted to be published at Kelso by the Earl of Holland, at the head of four thousand men; but on the appearance of Monro and his troops, the English fled in the utmost disorder.* These proceedings at once convinced the Covenanters of the duplicity of Charles, and of his determination to continue hostilities. Leslie, accordingly, having ordered the troops at Kelso to join the main army, marched to Dunse-law, and on the first of June pitched his camp in the very sight of the English. The general committee at Edinburgh also, aware of the state of the army, sent despatches throughout the kingdom requiring new levies of men; and so faithfully were

* Baillie, vol. i. p. 173. Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 936. "The English," adds Baillie, "were a great deal more nimble at flying than fighting; and it was difficult to tell whether the arms of their cavalry were more weary with whipping, or their heels with jading, their horses."

their orders attended to, that "the whole country" rose at the call, and hastened to Dunse-law. The appearance of the Scottish camp at this period was truly gratifying, while the exemplary piety, of both officers and men, exhibited a spectacle which we in vain look for among the military in times more modern. "It would have done you good," says Baillie, "to have cast your eyes athort our brave and rich hills as oft as I did.—Our hill was garnished on the top, towards the south and east with our mounted cannon. The crowners lay in canvas lodges, high and wide; their captains about them in lesser ones; the soldiers about all in huts of timber covered with divot or straw.—Every company had, flying at the captain's tent door, a brave new colour stamped with the Scottish arms, and this motto, 'FOR CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT,' in golden letters. Our soldiers were all lusty and full of courage; and grew in experience of arms, in courage, and in favour daily. Had you lent your ear in the morning, or especially at even, and heard in the tents the sound of some singing psalms, some praying, and some reading Scripture, ye would have been refreshed.—For myself, I never found my mind

in better temper than it was all that time since I came from home, till my head was again homeward, for I was as a man who had taken my leave of the world, and was resolved to die in that service without return." (Baillie's Letters, vol. i. pp. 175, 178.)

The near approach of the Scottish army, which had now increased to upwards of twenty-four thousand men, so greatly alarmed the English, that they immediately began to entrench themselves; and on the Scots discovering a disposition to advance still nearer, the king at length found it necessary to give them a hint that he wished for peace. So desirous were the Covenanters even yet to come to equitable terms with a monarch who had treated them with so much severity, and over whom they now seemed to enjoy a decided advantage, that they immediately despatched the Earl of Dunfermline, with an humble supplication to his majesty, to deign to listen to their complaints. But though Charles now found himself under the necessity of treating, he resolved first to have his humour a little gratified, by requiring that the proclamation which they had refused to publish in Edinburgh, should be read at the head of the

troops in the Covenanters' camp. This was refused ; but in order to show their readiness to gratify his majesty, the proclamation was read with great reverence at the general's table. With this Charles was satisfied ; and commissioners on each side were chosen to conclude a treaty. Having received a safe-conduct, the Scottish commissioners proceeded to the English camp ; but scarcely were they met in Arundel's tent, before Charles abruptly entered, and demanded to know what were those requests to which they alleged he had refused to listen. This demand called forth an explanation from the commissioners, which Charles ordered them to commit to writing. But though he found himself unable to answer their paper, which vindicated the proceedings of the assembly at Glasgow, yet influenced by his base flatterers the bishops, he insisted before proceeding further, on an answer to the three following questions :—" 1. Whether his majesty has the sole indiction of the general assembly or not? 2. Whether his majesty has a negative voice in assemblies? And, 3. Whether the assembly may sit after his majesty has, by his authority commanded them to rise?" Having already given him explicit answers

to all these questions, the Covenanters naturally imagined that Charles only wished to gain time; and they therefore resolved that their army should approach within cannon shot of the royal camp. This was sufficient to gain the end which they had in view: For no sooner did intelligence of their intention reach Charles, than he departed from his questions, and hastily concluded a treaty of peace, by which all differences were referred to a general assembly, to be held on the 6th of August, and a free parliament in a fortnight afterwards. The chief articles of this treaty, which, extorted as it was from the imperious monarch, he never intended to fulfil, were, that both armies should be disbanded,—that all the forts and castles taken by the Covenanters should be delivered up to the king,—that the fleet should be withdrawn,—that all fortifications, should desist,—and that all forfeitures should be restored. The articles were signed on the 18th of June, and proclaimed in both camps,* and the

* The Covenanters published a paper of information along with the articles, containing a verbal acknowledgment from Charles of his willingness, not to require any of the Presbyterians to disapprove of, or depart from the Glasgow assembly, which, for state reasons, he had termed in his declaration a “pretended assembly.” On the treaty being signed, several of the English humour-

Scottish army was immediately afterwards disbanded, (Baillie, vol. i. p. 183. Row, p. 348. Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 941. Apologetical Relation, p. 54.)

But though Charles had signed a treaty which would ultimately have restored tranquillity to Scotland, yet, mortified at being compelled to treat with men whom he had doomed to destruction, he resolved, on the first opportunity, to break his engagements, and, if possible, to throw the odium of violating the treaty on the Covenanters. With this view he appointed Traquair as his commissioner to the General Assembly, with instructions evidently opposed to the liberties of the Scottish church; for though he was to make many concessions, he was ordered, at the close of the assembly, to protest that any concessions made by him with which the king might be dissatisfied, "his majesty should be heard for redress thereof in his own time and place." (Rush. vol. iii. p. 949 Burnet's Mem. p. 154.)

The assembly accordingly met at Edinburgh on the day appointed. From com-

ously remarked, that the bishops were discharged in Scotland, neither by the civil law, nor by the canon law, but by Dunse-law. Stev. vol. ii. p. 746.

plaisance to Charles, no reference was made to the Glasgow assembly; but similar acts were passed against all the grievances of which the nation complained; the covenant was renewed, even with the commissioner's sanction, though indeed with a reservation; and the re-establishment of the Presbyterian religion was completely confirmed. "The work of this assembly," says Stevenson, "may be comprised under these four general heads:—1. The condemnation of the corruptions which troubled the church. 2. The report and approbation of the censures which had been inflicted on certain ministers for errors, immoralities, &c. 3. The condemnation of a book entitled, *The Large Declaration, or Manifesto of king Charles*; and, 4. The renovation of the national covenant." (Stev. Hist. vol. iii. p. 776. Naphtali, p. 140.) Having finished their business, the next assembly was appointed to be held at Aberdeen, on the last Tuesday of July, 1640.

Charles was highly offended at the conduct of his commissioner, in sanctioning the assembly's complete condemnation of Episcopacy, and their renewing of the covenant. When therefore the parliament assembled, Traquair endeavoured to repair his error, by

preventing the ratification of these two acts of assembly; for no sooner did the parliament enter on their consideration, than they were prorogued by order of Charles till June, 1640. (Rush. vol. iii. p. 955.) Against this arbitrary proceeding the members of parliament remonstrated, and appointed deputies to repair to London to lay their grievances at the foot of the throne. But Charles, who had made considerable advances in his military preparations, treated the deputies with the greatest indignity, and resolved to carry his base design of enslaving the Scottish nation into effect at the point of the sword. So immovable indeed was his determination to prosecute this Episcopal war, that he arbitrarily imposed taxes on the English nation without consent of parliament, by which he raised a sum sufficient to put him at the head of an army of twenty-one thousand men.

These proceedings of the tyrannical but infatuated sovereign, again roused the Covenanters to a sense of their danger, and the most active preparations were every where made to maintain the religion and liberties of the nation. In the meantime, the parliament which had been prorogued till the 2d of June, 1640, met on the day appointed; and having

ratified the acts of the last assembly, a committee was chosen to raise money, and manage the affairs of the army. These transactions were by Charles declared to be treasonable; but the Covenanters disregarding the menaces of their faithless monarch, assembled their forces, and resolved to march against the invader. (Apologetical Relation, p. 56.)

In order first to quell the disturbances which had again broken out in the north, Monro was sent to Aberdeen with a considerable force. But his severity in that quarter, in forcing subscriptions to the covenant, and plundering the disaffected, gave great offence to the Covenanters in general, (Stevenson, vol. iii. 880,) and can admit of no apology from any historian. Notwithstanding all these commotions, however, the assembly met at Aberdeen, according to appointment on the 28th of July. The chief business before this assembly, which merits notice, was a contest respecting private meetings for prayer and other religious exercises, which some of the more zealous of the members affirmed to be an espousing of independent principles. It had been the practice of many eminent Christians, who, during the

time of Episcopacy, could not conscientiously attend the ministry of the curates, to assemble in private for prayer and religious conference ; and being afterwards joined by several Irish refugees, who had fled from the persecution in their own country, a few had been gradually led to break off from the church, and form little societies similar to the English independent congregations. The far greater part of the private meetings, however, were held simply for promoting the spiritual benefit of the members, who remained as firmly attached to the church as ever. The matter was brought before the assembly by Mr. Henry Guthrie, minister of Stirling, whose present hot-headed zeal for presbytery was afterwards transferred to prelacy,* and who insisted on the suppression of all private meetings whatever. In vain did Mr. Samuel Rutherford and Mr. David Dickson contend that private meetings were warranted by Scripture. Having gained a party to his own views, Mr. Guthrie obtained an act to be passed, prohibiting any to be admitted to family worship except the members of the family, and allowing none except

* He accepted of a bishopric after the restoration.

a minister, or expectant approved of by the presbytery, to explain Scripture. This act was highly disapproved of by many of the most eminent ministers in the assembly, but for the sake of peace they submitted to the decision of their clamorous brethren. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 197—201.)

By this time the king was on his march towards the borders, with an army of twenty-one thousand men, by no means hearty in the cause. To oppose his progress, Leslie was despatched with the main body of the Covenanters' army, amounting to about twenty-six thousand, and in the beginning of August, he pitched his camp at Dunse. The Scottish forces lay on the borders for three weeks, improving themselves in discipline, during which time the greatest order and piety were exemplified in every part of the camp. "It is refreshful to remark," says Livingston, one of their chaplains, "that after we came to our quarters at night, there was nothing to be heard through the whole army, but singing psalms, prayer, and reading of Scripture by the soldiers in their several tents." (Livingston's Life, p. 33.) On the advance of the English to Newcastle, the Covenanters, to avoid being invaded in their

own country, broke up their camp, and on the 20th of August entered England. This step was taken, both on account of the difficulty of maintaining for any length of time so great an army, and of the secret assurances which were given them of assistance from their English brethren, who groaned under similar oppressions with themselves. Having therefore published a manifesto on "the lawfulness of their expedition," together with their "intentions" in entering, but not invading England—in which they disclaim all thoughts of taking any of their brethren's property, except for payment, and intimate their desire to unite both kingdoms in the work of reformation—the Scottish army on the 27th, encamped at Newburn, about five miles above Newcastle. Here on the day following, they obtained a complete victory over the king's forces; for though the loss of the English was inconsiderable, yet so effectual was the rout, that the whole fled into Yorkshire, together with eleven thousand men who were quartered in Newcassle. (Clarendon, vol. i. p. 143. Baillie, vol. i. p. 212.) To complete the success of the Covenanters, the same day the garrison in Dumbarton castle capitulated,

and shortly afterwards they obtained possession of the castle of Edinburgh.

The day following the victory at Newburn, General Leslie sent a letter to the mayor of Newcastle, assuring him of the friendly disposition of the Covenanters, and desiring the inhabitants to carry on their usual employments without fear, as a guard would be placed in the city for their protection. This letter had the intended effect. For when Leslie, with several officers and the ministers entered Newcastle, they were cordially welcomed, and liberally entertained by the authorities; after which Mr. Henderson preached a thanksgiving sermon in one of the churches. Durham, Tynemouth, and Shields, also fell into the hands of the Covenanters; yet, far from being elated with their success, they still continued to sue for peace. Charles, who was at Northallerton, when he received tidings of the defeat of his army, hastily retreated to York, where he received a new supplication from the much injured Scots, couched in very loyal language, stating their grievances, and praying for relief, together with a settled and lasting peace. (Rush. vol. iii. p. 1255. Burnet's Hist. of his Own Times, vol. i. p. 42.) Their petition

would have been instantly rejected, had not the English nobles, in the city of London, and several counties in England, laid before his majesty their own grievances, and earnestly entreated him to conclude a treaty with the Scots. Perceiving at length the general disaffection of the country, notwithstanding the base representations of the court sycophants to the contrary, Charles returned a message to the Covenanters, requiring them to make a specific statement of their demands, but prohibiting the advance of their army; and, to conciliate their English subjects, as he hated parliaments, he summoned a council of nobles to meet at York. (Clarendon, vol. i. p. 148.)

The Covenanters, according to the king's order, transmitted their written requests to Charles, soliciting him, among other things, to ratify the acts of the last parliament of Scotland. Charles at first seemed disposed to continue hostilities, by increasing the number of his forces; but, previous to any further movements on either side, the council of peers assembled at York on the 24th of September. This council having determined to negotiate with the Scots, commissioners from both sides met at Ripon on the 1st of Octo-

ber when a cessation of arms was proposed by the English commissioners. To this proposal the Scots willingly agreed, on condition that until a treaty was fully concluded, an allowance of £40,000 per month should be granted for the support of their army. After some debate in the council, £25,000 were offered and accepted, and the commissioners continued to sit during the month of October, discussing the articles of the treaty, without coming to any conclusion. Finding that many difficulties occurred in this negotiation, the nobles petitioned the king to allow the settling of the treaty to be transferred to London—Charles having at length agreed to summon a parliament—and the Covenanters' army to remain in England until it was concluded. (Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1279, et seq.) With this request his majesty reluctantly complied, and in the meantime a truce was signed, by which all hostilities by sea and land were to cease, and provision was made for payment of the stipulated sum for the maintenance of the Covenanters' forces. The Scottish commissioners immediately afterwards proceeded to London, attended by Messrs. Henderson, Blair, Baillie, and Gillespie, as chaplains, and were received by the

city with the greatest respect. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 215.)

The parliament, which met on the 3d of November, instead of acquiescing in the demands of the king, to grant money for chastising the *rebels*, as he termed the Scots, proceeded first to redress the grievances relative to religion of which their own nation complained. The tyranny of the bishops had so disgusted the people, that petitions signed by many thousands were presented to parliament, praying that the whole fabric of Episcopacy might be dissolved; and steps began already to be taken for deposing the bishops and overturning the existing hierarchy. (Clarendon, vol. i. pp. 203, 237.) Perceiving that he could exercise no control over the English parliament, Charles determined to proceed to Scotland, with the view of endeavouring, by large concessions, to separate that kingdom from his too powerful opponents in England. The parliament, on the other hand, afraid of Charles gaining the Scottish army, brought the treaty with the Covenanters to a conclusion in June, 1641, and with a view to the immediate disbanding of their army, paid them a fourth part of their arrears, with the promise of giving

them the remainder in equal moieties within two years ; upon which the Scots returned to their own country.*

Shortly after the conclusion of the treaty, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland met at St. Andrews, viz : on the 20th of July, but was afterwards adjourned to Edinburgh. This assembly framed a number of acts relative to the better regulation of church courts and universities ; but the act which chiefly merits attention, is one relative to private societies, which completely overturned the decision of the Aberdeen assembly. It is entitled " Act against impiety and schism ;" and while it enjoins presbyteries and synods " to watch over all meetings tending to promote error, scandal, schism, and neglect of duties," it at the same time declares, " That the assembly doth find it most necessary to stir up themselves, and to provoke all others, both ministers and people, not only to the religious exercises of public worship, and of private worship in their families, and of every one by themselves apart ; but also to the duties of mutual edification,

* By this treaty the Covenanters obtained all for which they had so long petitioned and contended. See Stev. Hist., vol. ii. p. 961.

by instruction, admonition, exhorting one another to forwardness in religion, and comforting one another in whatsoever distress, and that in all their meetings," &c. (Stev. Hist., vol. iii. p. 971.)

The Scottish Parliament had met at Edinburgh on the 15th of July, but transacted little or no business till the arrival of Charles, who reached Holyroodhouse on the 14th of August. While he remained in Edinburgh, he conformed in every point, though evidently from policy, to the Presbyterian form of worship. When he appeared in parliament on the 17th, he addressed the members in a speech, which, had it been sincere, or had the promises he made in it been afterwards fulfilled, would have secured him the cordial support of a nation enthusiastically attached to the house of Stuart. But the duplicity of Charles in all his transactions, justly kept awake the suspicions of men who had already experienced the little reliance which could be placed on his most solemn engagements.* With consent of the

* It was with the greatest difficulty that Charles refrained from protesting against the proceedings of this very parliament, before whom he had declared "that he earnestly desired to settle what concerned the religion and just liberties of his native country, and to give his people contentment and a general satisfaction."

king, the parliament appointed an oath to be taken by every member in that and succeeding parliaments, promising to maintain, on the one hand, the Presbyterian religion in purity, and on the other, the authority of the sovereign and the liberties of the people, agreeably to the national covenant. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 325. Naphtali, p. 141.) The treaty with England was then ratified, and several salutary enactments framed, which, while they were acted upon, proved of immense benefit to the nation.

Previous to the rising of the Scottish parliament, a dreadful insurrection broke out in Ireland. The Roman Catholics in that country, having published a declaration bearing that they acted by his majesty's commission under the great seal, and in a letter written by his own hand, commenced a diabolical massacre of the Protestants throughout that kingdom, in which upwards of *two hundred thousand* perished in the course of a few months. The province of Ulster, which was principally inhabited by Protestants, was entirely depopulated by the loss of one hundred and forty thousand of its inhabitants. The tortures employed on this occasion, which are of a nature too shocking to be described,

would surpass all credibility, were they not attested by the most authentic historians.* The Scottish parliament immediately offered ten thousand men to assist the English in suppressing the rebellion; but Charles, who could hardly be persuaded to denounce the murderers in Ireland *rebels*, seemed by no means hearty in the cause. The English parliament, on the contrary, thankfully accepted their offer, and at the same time intimated their belief, that all the commotions in that unhappy country proceeded from the councils of his majesty.

It was at this critical juncture that Charles returned to London, as determined as ever to oppose the proceedings of his English parliament. Immediately on his arrival, the bishops reproached him for yielding to the demands of the Scots, and intimated their suspicions that he might be induced to abolish Episcopacy in England. This unwise step of the prelates still further widened the breach between the parliament, who took part with the Scots, and the bishops, who not only pro-

* Rush, vol. v. p. 416. Whitelock, p. 47. Burnet's Hist., vol. i. p. 41. Brodie, vol. iii. p. 194. It was suspected, not without reason, that the Queen, to whose counsels Charles too easily yielded, had no small hand in this rebellion, and that it was done to assist the royal cause.

cured the expulsion of the latter from the house of lords, but ended in their final overthrow, together with that hierarchy which had been so oppressive to the nation. In short, Charles having preposterously endeavoured to re-establish his now limited authority on the ruins of parliament, by measures equally unwise and tyrannical, (Whitelock, p. 50. Rush. vol. v. p. 474,) both parties took the field, and a civil war followed between the parliamentary forces and the royal army. In vain did the Scots offer to mediate between the king and his parliament; for though the latter thanked them for their kind and seasonable interposition, the haughty sovereign peremptorily forbade them to interfere in the dispute. (Rush. vol. v. p. 474.)

While hostilities were carrying on in England, the General Assembly of the Scottish Church met at St. Andrews on the 27th of July 1642. To this assembly both the king and the English parliament made application for support; but while his majesty's communication conveyed declarations which the Scots knew to be inconsistent with truth, the parliament honestly laid their grievances before the assembly, and intimated their earnest desire to effect a reformation in Eng-

land similar to what had taken place in Scotland. Perceiving at once the benefits that would result to both kingdoms from the abolition of Prelacy in England, a system which had been the source of all their own miseries, and which, from the gross duplicity of Charles, they were aware would be again imposed upon Scotland, whenever the king triumphed over the parliamentary forces, it can be no surprise that the assembly and the Covenanters in general seemed disposed to favour the cause of liberty. In the meantime the assembly, desirous of putting a stop to the effusion of blood, laid the communication of the parliament before his majesty, and earnestly entreated him to grant the request of both nations in regard to uniformity of religion. But Charles, who was determined to support Episcopacy, refused to make any concessions whatever to a parliament over whom he expected shortly to triumph by force of arms. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 337. Rush. vol. vi. p. 398.)

The dreadful commotions in England, which, by means of the king's emissaries, had in part extended to Scotland, induced the Scots, on the refusal of Charles to summon a parliament, to hold a convention of estates.

This convention met on the 22d of June, 1643, but transacted little public business till the arrival of commissioners from the parliament of England. In the meantime the General Assembly met at Edinburgh on the 2d of August, and on the 7th of that month, the long expected commissioners arrived at Leith. These commissioners were Sir William Armine, Sir Harry Vane the younger, Thomas Hatcher, and Henry Darnley, Esqs., from the parliament to the estates, and Messrs. Marshall and Nye, the former a Presbyterian, and the latter an Independent minister, from the Assembly of Divines which had met at Westminster,* to the General Assembly at Edinburgh, (Rush, vol. vi. p. 466. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 300.) The commissioners to the estates requested the aid of their Scottish brethren in defending the religion and liberties of both kingdoms; and the commissioners to the assembly, in name of the parliament, solicited a number of the Scottish ministers to be appointed commissioners to the Westminster Assembly, and a league to

* This famous assembly, which was convened by the English parliament, met in King Henry the Seventh's chapel, Westminster Abbey, on the 1st of July, 1643,—Reid's Lives

be framed between both nations. After some consultation, both in the convention and assembly, the *Solemn League and Covenant* was framed, which, being approved of by the assembly, and ratified by the estates, was transmitted to London by the commissioners appointed to attend the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.*

It ought to be noticed, that this bond, vilified or misrepresented as it now is by the majority of authors, either through ignorance or malevolence, deserves none of that odium which is so unsparingly cast upon it both by novelists and historians. Let the reader carefully peruse it, and judge for himself. It is true that the covenant binds to the “extirpation of popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness,” but it does not say by the *sword*; nor can any of its calumniators produce one example of a prelate being put to death simply for his adherence to Episcopalian principles. Nay, are not Presbyterians at this present day bound, “according to their several places and callings,” to endeavour, by every Scriptural method, to

* These commissioners were Messrs. Alex. Henderson, Robert Douglas, Samuel Rutherford, Robert Baillie, and George Gillespie, ministers; and the Earl of Cassilis, Lord Maitland, and Sir Archibald Johnston, elders.

promote "sound doctrine," in opposition to what they conceive to be contrary to the Divine Word; and that although there never had been a covenant sworn in the land? And where, we would ask, was our fathers' error in entering into a covenant, to preserve to themselves and to their posterity after them, their religion and liberties, unjustly invaded by a tyrant? Is a covenant in itself unlawful? And if not, until the opponents of the covenants then sworn in Scotland, can show that there is contained in them matter opposed either to Scripture or reason, their obloquy and sneers can only be considered as manifesting a spirit as inimical to civil liberty as it is to Christianity.

The Solemn League being sanctioned by the English parliament, and ordered to be taken throughout the nation, was again transmitted to Edinburgh; and, on the 13th of October, it was sworn by the commission of the General Assembly, the estates, and the English commissioners. Copies were afterwards circulated throughout the kingdom, with orders that it should be subscribed by all ranks, under pain of being punished as enemies to religion and the sovereign's authority. This order may appear intolerant;

but, considering the treachery of the Covenanters' enemies, who at this very period were forming plots for putting to death the most eminent of their leaders, it was a measure almost imperative, in order to ascertain the number of their adherents. And this object was speedily attained; for in every parish the people joyfully affixed their signatures to a bond, which, instead of invalidating the National Covenant, as some historians allege,* laid the Covenanters under double obligations to fulfil the vows which they had formerly taken upon themselves. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 393, &c.)

* Hume only displays his ignorance when he says that the Solemn League "effaced all former protestations and vows taken in both kingdoms." Hist., vol. vi. p. 540.

CHAPTER IV.

Civil war—the Scottish army enters England—barbarous proceedings of Montrose—he is forfeited by the parliament—General Assembly—intrigues of the king—he repairs to the Scottish camp—rejects the proposals of the English parliament—fruitless efforts of the Scots to induce him to comply—he is delivered to the parliament and carried to Holmby house—Westminster Assembly—the English army seize the king's person—he escapes to the Isle of Wight—negotiates with the Scots—the Scottish parliament declares war against England—opposition of the church to this engagement—its ill success—trial and execution of the king—Charles II. proclaimed—he arrives in Scotland—his deceitful conduct—malignants admitted into places of trust—the king's coronation—he solemnly swears the covenants—advances into England—his defeat—Scotland reduced by Cromwell—state of the church during the usurpation—Charles recalled by the English parliament.

It is not our intention to give a detail of the civil wars in England, which ended in the complete discomfiture of the infatuated monarch. It is sufficient to state here, that the Scots, agreeably to their treaty with the English parliament, sent into England, in the beginning of 1644, an army of upwards of twenty-one thousand men, who co-operated with the parliamentary forces in contending for the civil and religious liberties of both kingdoms. While hostilities were thus carrying on in England, Montrose* repaired to the north of

* Montrose, as we have already seen, had carried his zeal in behalf of the covenants to an unjustifiable length;

Scotland, and putting himself at the head of sixteen hundred barbarous Irish, and several Highland clans, who espoused the king's interest, laid waste a great portion of the country, and made the streets of Aberdeen literally to run with human blood. (Baillie, vol. ii. p. 65.)

During these commotions, the General Assembly met at Edinburgh on the 31st of May; and, having received from their commissioners a very favourable account of the progress made by the Westminster Assembly in effecting uniformity in religion between the two kingdoms, they confirmed the sentence of excommunication pronounced by the commission of the Assembly against Montrose and the other enemies of the covenant. (Stev. Hist., vol. iii. p. 1117.) The Scottish parliament, which met in June following, formally ratified the Solemn League, and the treaty with England.*

The miserable state of the country, occasioned by the barbarities of Montrose and but, like all blind zealots, who are devoid of principle, he not only himself deserted the cause which he had espoused, but persecuted those who refused to follow him in his apostasy.

* Various salutary acts were passed by this parliament, which the reader will find detailed in Stevenson's History.

his savage followers, whose atrocities in the north were of a nature the most revolting,* occasioned another meeting of parliament to be held in January, 1645. Though divided on many points, this parliament unanimously forfeited the estates of Montrose and his co-adjutors, and ordered an army to be raised to march against these sanguinary enemies to the common cause. The General Assembly which met about the same time with the parliament, drew up addresses both to the parliament and the nation, earnestly calling upon all ranks to defend the principles which they had so solemnly espoused, and to make a decided stand against "the popish, prelatical, and malignant faction," who, under Montrose, laid waste the country by fire and sword. This Assembly also sent a faithful remonstrance to the king, warning him of the guilt of shedding the blood of so many thousands of his best subjects—of his own irreligion and idolatry—of his encouraging the profanation of the Sabbath—and of refusing to listen to the humble and just requests of

* Even Spalding acknowledges that Montrose "burns and slays through the haill country; and left no house or hold, except impregnable strengths, unburnt; their corn, goods and gear; and left not a four-footed beast alive." Vol. ii. p. 297.

his people ; all which, they assured him, unless speedily repented of, would bring down the vengeance of God upon himself and his posterity. Letters were likewise sent to the Westminster Assembly and their own commissioners in London, encouraging them to proceed in the work of reformation, and approving of the directory for public worship drawn up by that eminent body of divines. (Baillie, vol. ii. p. 89, &c.)

In the meantime Montrose continued the war with every species of savage cruelty, in which he proved so successful, (Rush, vol. vii. p. 229,) notwithstanding the opposition of the Covenanters' forces, that marching south, he soon afterwards made himself master of Glasgow. Here, however, he was abandoned by several of the Highland clans, who, satisfied with the plunder which they had already obtained, retired to their native mountains to enjoy the fruits of their depredations. Instead of retracing his steps on the desertion of his followers, Montrose, elated with his past successes, resolved to advance still further south, and enter England as a conqueror. He exultingly wrote to Charles, that he had "gone over the land from Dan to Beersheba ;" presumptuously adding, in the

language of Scripture, "Come thou and take the city, lest I take it, and it be called by my name." (Burnet's Hist. of his Own Times, vol. i. p. 59.) But part of the Scottish army being recalled from England, he was completely routed at Philiphaugh, and forced to become a fugitive in the north, where he had lately been so unmerciful a conqueror. (Rush, vol. vii. p. 231. Hind Let Loose, p. 82.)

The defeat of Montrose, on whose success Charles chiefly depended, accelerated the ruin of the king's affairs in England. "Nor did he succeed any better in his attempts to obtain the assistance of the Irish rebels to support his now almost hopeless cause, or to induce either the Independents or Presbyterians, the two prevailing parties in England, to side with him for extirpating each other." In short, after continuing a war as destructive to his own interests as it was to the country in general, till April, 1646, Charles, without any previous arrangements, secretly repaired to the Scottish camp at Newark, (Clarendon, vol. v. p. 16. Rush, vol. vii. p. 267,) in the presumptuous hope that the Covenanters' army would espouse his cause against the English parliament, without his yielding to their claims in regard

to religion. In vain did Mr. Henderson—though now labouring under a disease which terminated in his death*—and other sincere friends both to their king and their country, endeavour to induce the headstrong monarch to yield to the wishes of his subjects in both kingdoms, by receiving the covenant and redressing the grievances of which they complained: Though he had surrendered himself a prisoner at discretion, and was now in one point of view at the mercy of his much injured subjects, he refused to accede to any terms which he imagined were inimical to absolute authority. At this very period, the English sectariest wished to abolish monarchy altogether; but the Scots, still attached to their king, prevailed with the parliament of England to appoint commissioners along with them to offer propositions to Charles, with the view of an accommodation. Among other proposals of minor importance, these commissioners, in the month of July, tendered to Charles the following:—That Episcopacy should be abolished; that his majesty

* Mr. Henderson, in a few days afterwards returned to Edinburgh, where he died on the 12th of August.

† This title, which is used by almost every historian, included, Independents, Anabaptists, Arminians, Antinomians, Ranters, Seekers, &c.

should swear the solemn league and covenant, and give his consent to an act of parliament being passed, enjoining it to be subscribed throughout the three kingdoms; that the reformation of religion, agreeably to the covenant, be settled by parliament in conjunction with the Assembly of Divines; and that the parliaments and assemblies of both kingdoms be authorized to endeavour, according to the covenant, to effect uniformity in religion. (Rush, vol. vii. p. 309.) These proposals were, to the inexpressible grief of the Scots, rejected by the king, nay, such was his inflexibility, that Lord Leven, with an hundred officers on their bended knees, supplicated him in vain to comply with the stipulations of the commissioners.* The Earl of Loudon, in particular, remonstrated with Charles, in language so faithful and plain, that we cannot here avoid giving an extract from his speech:—"The differences between your majesty and your parliament

* "We are," says Baillie, "in very great grief and perplexity. We know not what either to say or do. Many of the king's greatest friends think his obstinacy judicial, as if in God's justice he were destroying himself. I fear he will down with him all his posterity and monarchy.—The powerful faction in England desires nothing so much as any colour to cast the king and all his race away."—Baillie, vol. ii. p. 222, 227.

are grown to such a height, that after many bloody battles, they have your majesty with all your garrisons and strongholds in their hands, and the whole kingdom at their disposal. They are now in a capacity to do what they will in church and state; while some are so afraid, and others so unwilling, to submit to your majesty's government, that they desire not you, nor any of your race, to reign any longer over them. But the people are yet unwilling to proceed to extremities, till they know your majesty's last resolutions. Now, if your majesty shall refuse to assent to the propositions, you will lose all your friends in the houses and in the city, and all England will join against you as one man. They will depose you and set up another government: they will charge us to deliver your majesty to them, and to remove our armies out of England; and upon your refusal, both kingdoms will be constrained to settle religion and peace without you, which will ruin your majesty and your posterity; for if you lose England by your wilfulness, you will not be permitted to come and reign in Scotland. We acknowledge that the propositions are higher in some points than we approve of; but the only way to establish

your majesty's throne is to consent to them at present, and hereafter you will have an opportunity of offering such modifications as you and your parliament shall judge proper." (Stev. Hist., vol. iii. p. 1147.)

The decided refusal of Charles to accede to the propositions, so inflamed the parliament that it was with difficulty they were prevented from declaring the throne vacant. The Scots, on the other hand, perceiving the obduracy of Charles, and fearing that the parliament would resort to violent measures, requested payment of their arrears, and proposed to disband their army. This was acceded to by the parliament; and after a severe scrutiny of the amount demanded, about one third only of it was offered, and ultimately accepted! The next question was the disposal of the king's person; and, notwithstanding the greatest efforts of the Scots, to preserve him from falling into the hands of the sectaries, they were compelled to give him up to the English parliament. The Scots have most unfairly been held up to scorn, by the majority of authors, for the part which they were forced to take in this transaction. But, if odium is due to any, it is, not to the Scots, but to the English. Could they, it may be asked, have acted otherwise

than they did? The king repaired to them without any agreement; he obstinately persisted in rejecting the proposals of peace which were made to him by both nations; and had the Covenanters either carried him to Scotland, or refused to deliver him up to the parliament of England, which had decreed that "his majesty should be disposed of as they thought fit," they would have acted contrary to their solemn engagements, and entailed upon themselves inevitable ruin.* The king was accordingly conducted to Holmby House, and the Scottish army returned to their own country.

* "If there be any infamy in the transaction," says Aikman, "it belongs to the English—inasmuch as they are more infamous who take advantage of a man's necessities, to constrain him to do a base action, than he who laments it, and yet is forced to comply—they had the power to enforce their demands; the Scots without absolute ruin could not come to extremities; the English knew this, and they had not the generosity to supply the wants of their allies, till they constrained them to submit to the enormous and unjustifiable deductions on their account. They knew that the Scots had not the means of retaining the king without destruction to themselves; and, calculating upon this, they assumed the right, because they had the power, of claiming the king's person. The Scots made every effort they were capable of for preserving the king, and when they could keep him no longer, they obtained for him the best conditions they could—a freedom and an honourable treatment, which he most ungratefully made use of to involve them again in war and confusion." Aikman's *Hist.* vol. iv. p. 264.

During these transactions the Westminster Assembly completed the work which had so long occupied their attention. The Confession of Faith, the Directory for Public Worship, and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, were the fruit of their labours, which, after due deliberation, were approved of by the English and Scottish parliaments, and, to the present day, are adhered to in Scotland as the authoritative standards of the national church. Presbytery was at that period established in England, though not to the full extent which the Scots desired; and the Scottish commissioners to the Westminster Assembly returned home with the unanimous thanks of their English brethren.*

Scarcely had the king arrived at Holmby House, and the Scottish army evacuated England, when a misunderstanding arose between the English parliament and the army. Composed of various sectaries as the army now was, who hated both Episcopacy and Presbytery, they not only refused to be disbanded

* The prolocutor, Mr. Herle, in name of the Assembly, "thanked the reverend commissioners for their assistance. He excused the Directory's not being so well observed as it ought; and lamented that the Assembly had not power to call offenders to an account." *Stev. Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 1181.

at the order of parliament, but, seizing the king's person, and advancing to London, they attained the complete ascendancy over both houses. The king was at first courteously treated by the army, and offered conditions much more favourable than those made by the parliament, or than even he himself had any reason to expect, but which, to the astonishment of all, he decidedly rejected.*

Having made his escape from the army, Charles repaired to the Isle of Wight in November, 1647. Here he tampered at one time with the parliament, and at another with the army, without agreeing to the proposals of either, repeatedly declaring, that neither party could subsist without him, and that those whom he abandoned would inevitably be ruined. But his chief dependence rested on the Scots, with whom he secretly intrigued, in the hope of obtaining their assistance and support. Commissioners from Scotland had been sent to the Isle of Wight to

* Clarendon, vol. v. p. 50. Rush. vol. vii. p. 231. Although the army had no objections to a moderate Episcopacy, yet Charles insisted that one part of their agreement should be, the complete establishment of the church by law; and when reminded that he had given his consent to abolish Prelacy in Scotland, he replied that "he hoped God had forgiven him that sin."

reason with him on the necessity of coming to some agreement with his parliament. By his artifices he gained several of them, especially Lauderdale and Lanark, to espouse the cause of royalty; and a secret treaty was at length concluded, by which Charles on the one part, was to make several concessions, though by no means to the extent required by the Scottish nation, while the commissioners, on the other, engaged, without any authority, to raise an army for the purpose of restoring him to his throne. (Rush. vol. vii. p. 946. Stev. Hist., vol. iii. p. 1222.)

The commissioners returned to Scotland in February, 1648, and were exceedingly desirous of engaging the nation in behalf of the faithless monarch. The committee of estates and commission of the church had assembled to learn the nature of their communications, which were so unsatisfactory, that the former hesitated, and the latter decidedly opposed the treaty, which, contrary to the terms of the covenant had so unwarrantably been concluded. In spite of the efforts of the commission, however, the parliament of Scotland, which met on the 2d of March, determined, by a majority of votes, to engage in war with England, in order to restore Charles

to his former dignity ; and the Duke of Hamilton was appointed commander-in-chief of the army. (Burnet's Mem. p. 412.) The commission of the Assembly and the minority in parliament, on the other hand, entered their decided protest against an engagement which they deemed to be not only unlawful in itself, but opposed to the covenant as well as to the interests of both nations. (Rush. vol. vii. p. 1114. Baillie, vol. ii. p. 293. Gillespie against Association with Malignants, p. 22, et seq.) The people too, in general, were so exceedingly averse to the war that troops could not be raised without using force. At length, however, Hamilton, with an ill disciplined and comparatively profligate army of about fifteen thousand men, entered England ; but shortly afterwards he and his forces were completely defeated by Oliver Cromwell at Preston.

Scarcely had Hamilton and his dissolute army left Scotland, before the general assembly of the Scottish church met at Edinburgh on the 12th of July. The decided opposition of their commission to what was termed "the unlawful engagement" was unanimously approved of by the assembly, and a strong remonstrance was at the same time given in to

the estates against the war which was now carrying on against England. (Whitelock, p. 305. Informatory Vindication, p. 5.) The noblemen, too, who opposed the engagement, namely, Argyle, Eglinton, Cassilis, and Loudon, raised an army in the west country to oppose Munro, who had brought a considerable force from Ireland, in order to assist the Duke of Hamilton. After great exertions, these noblemen succeeded in restoring tranquillity to the country. Monro's forces were by agreement, sent home to Ireland; and Cromwell, who, after Hamilton's defeat, was advancing with an army to invade Scotland, was prevented, by the committee of estates representing to him that the nation, in general had been averse to the late hostile attempt upon England.

The commission of the church, which met at Edinburgh on the 6th of October, appointed the Solemn League to be renewed throughout the kingdom, together with "a solemn acknowledgement of sins and engagement to duties," (See Westminster Con. of Faith, p. 510,) of which the committee of estates unanimously approved. Great efforts were also made to purify the church by the expulsion of unworthy ministers; in which

the commission proved so eminently successful, that "a visible reformation very soon ensued." (Stev. Hist., vol. iii. p. 1285.) The parliament which met on the 6th of January, 1649, not only condemned the engagement, but passed an act against the engagers, ranking them under classes—in consequence of which it received the title of an *act of classes*,—by which they were excluded from all places of public trust. This act, in short, included all who opposed the covenants and the work of reformation.

In the meantime, the king, perceiving the ruin of his affairs both in England and Scotland, turned his attention to Ireland, and endeavoured by a new intrigue again to involve his subjects in confusion and blood. (Brodie, vol. iv. p. 144.) But this artifice having also failed, he at length reluctantly made concessions to the English parliament, which, though not to the extent required, were on the eve of being accepted, when the sectarian army again seized his person, and having violently excluded from parliament those members who opposed their proceedings, they erected a "high court of justice," and determined to bring him to trial. In vain did the nation in general, the Presbyterians,

may, the Independents, and especially the church and parliament of Scotland,* protest against their proceedings. In a parliament selected for the purpose, and overawed by the fanatical army, Charles was condemned to death as a traitor, and beheaded on the 30th of January, 1649. Thus fell Charles I., who, though highly eulogized by many historians, must bear the character of a monarch at once unprincipled and arbitrary. His despotic and lawless measures towards the Scots in particular, who were always his best friends, leave a stain on his memory which no encomiums can ever efface.

When intimation of the king's death reach-

* It is so clearly established by numerous impartial historians, that the Presbyterians had no hand whatever in the king's death, that it is unnecessary to quote authorities. *Two* Independent ministers only concurred in his condemnation; which was effected by the various sectaries in the army, aided not a little by the papists, who hoped to reap some advantage by the revolution. "To impartial men," says Stevenson, "there is no need to make any apology for the Presbyterians as to the king's death. They did not begin the war, though they joined in it, as what they thought unavoidably necessary, nor did they cut off the king's head, or in the least concur in it. It was done very much by the influence of papists, who played protestants so artfully one against another, that they were almost consumed one of another, and immediately by a faction in the army, as the act for keeping the 30th of January admits, without consent of the house of lords, and after they had forcibly excluded a considerable number of commons."—Stev. Hist., vol. iii. p. 1318.

ed Scotland, the estates, which were then sitting, if they had possessed the power, would have immediately proclaimed war against the republicans of England. But aware of their own inability to contend with such powerful opponents, they proceeded no further than to proclaim Charles II., the son of their deceased monarch, king in his stead. (Baillie, vol. ii. p. 314.) This proclamation, which was made on the 5th of February, was guarded by a declaration, that the young king's advancement to the throne should be in accordance with the national covenant, as well as the solemn league; that before he was admitted to the exercise of royal power, he should give satisfaction to the nation in regard to the security of religion, according to the covenants and the union and peace between the two kingdoms; that he himself should sign the covenants; and that he should give up all counsel and counsellors prejudicial to religion and these solemn bonds. At the same time the parliament abolished the grievous law of patronage in the church, which, from the period of its enactment, had been the source of innumerable evils throughout the country, (Baillie, vol. ii. p. 330.)

Commissioners were immediately afterwards despatched to Charles, who was then at the Hague, a town in Holland, with the conditions on which he would be admitted to the exercise of royal authority; but imitating the haughty conduct of his father, he decidedly refused to comply with the required stipulations, in consequence of which the commissioners were obliged to return to Scotland. In 1650, however, the parliament again offered him the throne on the conditions formerly tendered; but he evaded answering them till he had ascertained the success of Montrose, to whom he had given a commission to declare war against the Covenanters; but the defeat and death of that enemy to his country, who had landed with his forces in the north, induced Charles to agree to the conditions of the parliament, (*Hind Let Loose*, p. 86,) and he accordingly arrived at the mouth of the Spey on the 23d of June. Before he landed he was required to take the covenant, with which he complied, solemnly promising to respect and uphold the government then established in church and state, and to receive none of the malignants* into

* *Baillie*, vol. ii. p. 332. *Naphtali*, p. 159. *Apologetical Relation*, p. 65.—The name of malignants was not

his counsels. Notwithstanding, however, his vows, the majority of the Covenanters perceiving his duplicity, were the more strict in insisting upon his observance of the conditions upon which he had been recalled from his place of exile. They accordingly appointed chaplains, who daily performed divine worship in his court, and not only enjoined sobriety upon himself and his courtiers, but a regular attendance on the public ordinances of religion. To these exercises, Charles, like all the ungodly, submitted with the greatest reluctance; nay, while he hypocritically enough pretended to be as strict a Covenanter as any in Scotland, he and his dissolute companions held up to ridicule, in private, the most solemn exercises of that religion which he had sworn to promote and maintain.

In order still further to bind Charles, and secure the religion and liberties of the nation against the machinations of the malignant party, the commission of the assembly, and the committee of estates formed a declara-

unappropriately bestowed on those who opposed the covenants, and who were of any or of no religion just as suited their own convenience. Afterwards the malignants in general joined either with the Episcopalians or the Papists.

tion, to which—in order to satisfy the nation in general, as well as to repel the false accusations of the English republicans—they requested him to affix his signature. In this declaration he was called upon to acknowledge not only his father's errors in opposing the work of God, but the idolatry of his mother, and to lament the blood which in consequence had been shed throughout the country ; to declare that his own vows to act agreeably to the covenants were perfectly sincere, without any sinister intention to attain his private ends ; and that he was firmly resolved, in the strength of the Lord, to adhere to and prosecute the same to the utmost of his power. (Burnet, vol. i. p. 88.) Charles at first refused to sanction a declaration which, though evidently called for by the exigency of the times, was so contrary to his own feelings. But on the passing of an act by the commission of assembly and estates, declaring that their present war with the English was not to defend any malignant party, but that the Scottish army fought entirely upon their former principles,* Charles

* This act, dated West Kirk, Aug. 13, 1650, thus proceeds :—"The commission of the general assembly, considering that there may be just ground of stumbling,

found it necessary to sign the declaration.*

It was not to be expected that the English republicans, who had so lately taken away the life of the father, would tamely submit to see the son received as sovereign in any part of the island. Cromwell was accordingly despatched with a numerous army to Scotland, with which he advanced as far as

from the king's majesty's refusing to subscribe and emit the declaration offered to him by the committee of estates and the commission of the general assembly, concerning his former carriage and resolutions for the future, in reference to the cause of God, and the enemies and friends thereof, doth therefore declare that the kirk and kingdom doth not own or espouse any malignant party, or quarrel, or interest, but that they fight merely upon their former grounds and principles, and in defence of the cause of God and of the kingdom, as they have done these twelve years past; and therefore, as they disclaim all the sin and guilt of the king and of his house, so they will not own him nor his interest, otherwise than with a subordination to God, and so far as he owns and prosecutes the cause of God, and disclaims his and his father's opposition to the work of God and to the covenant, and likewise all the enemies thereof." &c.

* When Charles took the pen in his hand to affix his signature to this paper, Mr. Gillespie, who suspected his sincerity, faithfully warned him, "That if he was not satisfied in his soul and conscience, beyond all hesitation, of the righteousness of the subscription, he was so far from overdriving him to run upon that for which he had no light, that he obtested him, yea, charged him in his Master's name, and in the name of those who sent him, not to subscribe this declaration, no, not for the three kingdoms." To which Charles replied, "Mr. Gillespie, Mr. Gillespie, I am satisfied, I am satisfied with the declaration, and therefore will sign it." Hind Let Loose, p. 88.

Edinburgh; but being opposed by Leslie and the Scottish forces, he was obliged to retreat to Dunbar. Here, however, he gained a decisive victory over the Scots—who had incautiously descended from the favourable position in which they were posted—completely destroying an army which at first he dreaded to encounter. While the Covenanters throughout the country mourned over this calamity, it gave the greatest satisfaction to the unprincipled and hypocritical monarch, as by the destruction of so many of those very men who fought in his cause, he expected that a door would be opened for the admission of malignants and every enemy to the covenant, to places of authority and trust.* Nor was he disappointed in his expectations. While Cromwell followed up his victory, Charles induced the parliament, which was then sitting at Perth, to write to the moderator of the assembly, desiring him to call an extraordinary meeting of the commission of the church, in order to consider the following question:—"What

* "Never," says Clarendon, "was victory attained with less lamentation; for as Cromwell had great argument of triumph, so the king was glad of it, as the greatest happiness that could befall him, in the loss of so strong a body of his enemies!"

persons are to be admitted to rise in arms, and to join with the forces of the kingdom, and in what capacity for defence thereof, against the armies of the sectaries, who, contrary to the solemn league and covenant and treaties, have most unjustly invaded and are destroying this kingdom?" On the 14th of December, the commission returned the following answer:—"In this case of so great and evident necessity, we cannot be against raising all fencible persons in the land, and permitting them to fight against the enemy, for the defence of the kingdom, except such as are excommunicated, forfeited, notoriously profane, or flagitious," &c. (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 2. Baillie, vol. ii. p. 348.) Immediately on receiving this answer, the army was filled with malignants; many of the officers were of the same description, and not a few of them were lying under the censure of both church and state, as enemies to their country. In short, many unprincipled, ignorant, and presumptuous men were now received into places of power, upon making profession of their repentance before the church. The base hypocrisy and gross profanation which were encouraged by these resolutions, so grieved many of the most worthy of the

ministers, that they, together with a number of leading gentlemen, entered their decided protest against them, in consequence of which they were termed *Protestors*. The other party, who were headed by Argyle—who afterwards deeply regretted the part he had taken—were called *Resolutioners*.* Against the resolutions a strong remonstrance was given in by the western counties, faithfully pointing out the duplicity, irreligion, and perfidy of Charles, and earnestly requesting that he might not be required to swear the covenant, “when they had reason to believe, that he took it not with a resolution to maintain it, seeing his whole deportment and private conversation showed a secret enmity to the work of God.” (Burnet, vol. i. p. 88. Whitelock, p. 484. Baillie, vol. ii. p. 358.) Charles, however, found means to impose on the greater part of the ministers and the majority of the nation, by promises and protestations as ample as they were insincere; and notwithstanding the progress of Cromwell in

* Burnet's Hist., vol. i. p. 87. Even this author acknowledges, that in refusing to admit the malignants to a profession of repentance, in order to obtain a place in the army, the protestors “had great advantage: for this mock penitence was indeed a matter of great scandal.”

subduing the country, the first of January, 1651 was fixed for his coronation.

This solemn transaction took place at Scoone on the day appointed, when Charles II. was crowned *covenanted* monarch of the three kingdoms. Mr. Robert Douglas, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, having preached a faithful and impressive sermon from 2 Kings xi. 12—17, the covenants, both national and solemn league, were read in the king's hearing; after which Charles kneeled, and lifting up his right hand, solemnly swore the following oath:—"I, Charles, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, do assure, and declare by my solemn oath, in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of hearts, my allowance and approbation of the national covenants, and of the solemn league and covenant; and faithfully oblige myself to prosecute the ends thereof in my station and calling; and that I, for myself and my successors, shall consent and agree to all acts of parliament enjoining the same, and establishing Presbyterian government, as approved by the General Assemblies of this kirk and parliament," &c. (Apologetical Relation, p. 67. Hind Let Loose, p. 89.) He

then subscribed the covenants and oath; after which all the ceremonies of the coronation were solemnly performed, the crown being placed on his head by the Marquis of Argyle.*

No sooner were these solemn transactions finished, than the "act of classes" was annulled; the malignants were invested with authority, to the exclusion even of the resolutioners, who were now removed from the direction of all public affairs; (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 4.) and Charles himself took command of the army which opposed Cromwell and his revolutionary forces. But in spite of all their efforts, Cromwell made himself master of the whole of Fife and the town of Perth. Charles might, however, have wearied out the republican army, by retiring either to the west or north, but through the ill advice of his courtiers, he resolved, contrary to the remonstrances of Argyle and his best friends, to abandon Scotland and penetrate into England. He accordingly entered that kingdom with an army of eighteen thousand men,

* We shall have occasion afterwards to see how faithfully Charles performed his vows, and how well he rewarded those who at this time were so forward in his service.

but was completely defeated at Worcester on the 3d of September, and he himself narrowly escaped to the continent, after skulking for some time in England.

This disastrous defeat was followed by the complete reduction of Scotland into a province of the English commonwealth, and the invasion of the liberties of the church by the conquerors. In July, 1652 a declaration was presented to the General Assembly in favour of Independency, which being rejected, Cromwell violently dissolved them, and prohibited all meeting of assemblies in time coming.* The Protestors and Resolutioners, on the other hand, though both in favour of monarchy, and deeply deploring the distressed condition of the church and country, continued their dissensions among

* Baillie, vol. ii. p. 370. This assembly was dissolved by Lieut. Colonel Cotterel, "who beset the house with some rattes of musqueteers and a troop of horse. He entered the assembly himself and inquiring if they sat there by authority of the parliament of the Commonwealth, commanded them to follow him, else he would drag them out of the room. He led them through the whole streets, a mile out of the town, encompassing them with foot companies of musqueteers, and horsemen without—all the people gazing and mourning as at the saddest spectacle they had ever seen. He prohibited them to meet any more above three in number: and the day following, at eight o'clock, they were commanded off the town by sound of trumpet, under pain of imprisonment."

themselves, and were compelled to forego their recriminations only by the summary mandates of the conqueror. But though Cromwell abolished General Assemblies, and evinced not a little arbitrary authority in the settlement of unpopular ministers in several congregations, (Baillie, vol. ii. p. 371,) he permitted synods* and presbyteries to meet without interruption; and having, at his own instigation, been chosen protector of the commonwealth, he even attempted to effect an incorporating union between the two kingdoms. (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 4.) After Cromwell's death, which took place in 1658, "some sort of union," says Wodrow, "was made up in most synods between the Protestors and Resolutioners; and things went pretty smooth till the king's return, when the whole honest Presbyterian ministers were struck at, and sent to the furnace to unite them." (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 5.)

During Cromwell's usurpation, the church of Scotland enjoyed comparatively outward tranquillity. But what was of much greater importance, vital godliness was experienced

* In 1655, however, the synod of Perth and Stirling was violently dissolved by the sectarian army. Crookshank, vol. i. p. 54.

and exhibited throughout the kingdom, both among ministers and people. In order to give some idea of the state of religion in Scotland at this period, we shall quote the following interesting description of the Scottish church from an eye witness, which deserves to be kept in mind as a contrast to the dreadful scene which soon afterwards followed ; “ Every paroche* had a minister, every village had a school, every family almost had a Bible, yea, in most of the coun-
treys all the children of age could read the Scriptures, and were provided of Bibles, either by the parents or by their ministers. Every minister was a very full professor of the reformed religion, according to the Large Confession of Faith framed at Westminster by the divines of both nations. Every minister was obliged to preach thrice a-week, to lecture and catechise once, besides other private duties in which they abounded, according to their proportion of faithfulness and abilities. None of them might be scandalous in their conversation, or negligent in their office, so long as the presbytery stood ; and among them were many holy in conver-

* There were then nine hundred parishes in Scotland, sixty-eight presbyteries, and fourteen synods.

sation and eminent in gifts ; nor did a minister satisfy himself except his ministry had the seal of a divine approbation, as might witness him to be really sent from God. I have lived many years in a parochie where I never heard ane oath, and you might have ridde many miles before you had heard any : also, you could not for a great part of the countrey have lodged in a family where the Lord was not worshipped by reading, singing, and publick prayer. The great blemish of our church was, the division betwixt protestors and resolution-men (as they were called ;) but as this was inconsiderable upon the matter, so was it also pretty well composed by express agreement among brethren, even while the English continued our governors." (Kirkton's Hist. pp. 65, 66.)

The confusions which took place in England on the death of Cromwell soon disgusted all ranks against a government, which being chiefly in the hands of the military, ruled with a despotic sway over the people. During these commotions, general Monk, who was at the head of the troops in Scotland, repaired to England, with the view, if possible, either of seating himself in the Protector's chair, or of restoring the exiled monarch

to the throne. (Baillie, vol. ii. p. 439.) Wearied out by military oppression, both kingdoms were now desirous of a change of government, and nothing was talked of either in or out of parliament, but the restoration of Charles. Amidst these commotions, James Sharpe, one of the Scottish ministers, was at the request of Monk, sent by the Presbyterians to England to watch over the interests of the church of Scotland. But a more unworthy and treacherous agent could not have been employed. While pretending to negotiate in their favour, he was secretly undermining their cause; for this base apostate and hypocritical betrayer of his country and his religion—who was one of the first that renounced allegiance to the house of Stuart, and complied with Cromwell's usurpation—found means to ingratiate himself with Charles, while the latter was still in Holland, and proved one of the greatest advocates for the re-establishment of Prelacy in Scotland, and for the forcible suppression of the Presbyterian faith.*

A few patriots in England, and the Pres-

* Wodrow, *Introd.*, where the hypocrisy of Sharpe is clearly shown, by his own letters to Mr. Douglas, and the Presbyterian ministers in Scotland.

byterian ministers in Scotland, laboured in vain to secure their religion and liberties previous to recalling the exiled monarch. The parliament* being over-ruled by Monk and the army, voted the return of the king without any stipulations, resolving that "the government of England is by king, lords, and commons; and that the king of Scotland is king of England." Charles was accordingly proclaimed in London on the 8th, and in Edinburgh on the 14th of May, 1660, the Presbyterians foolishly trusting to his former solemn oaths, and his renewed promises that he would preserve inviolate the religion of his Scottish subjects. (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 61. Baillie, vol. ii. p. 441.) The king entered London on the 29th of May, and took possession of a throne which, as we shall afterwards see, he ill deserved, and of which his father, by his arbitrary and unjustifiable conduct, had twenty years before been deprived by nearly the unanimous voice of the nation.

* The parliament which met on February 21, 1660, confirmed the Solemn League and Covenant, and ratified the Westminster confession of faith, &c. Thus as Bishop Kennet observes, "the Solemn League did really conduce to the bringing in of the king." Wodrow, vol. i. p. 61.

CHAPTER V.

Charles discovers his antipathy to Presbytery—several ministers imprisoned—the king's letter to the Presbyterians—meeting of parliament—oath of allegiance—the covenants annulled—rescissory act—synods dispersed—trial of the marquis of Argyll—his defence—he is condemned and executed—charges against Mr. James Guthrie—his sentence and death—sufferings of other Covenanters—proceedings of the privy council—proclamation re-establishing Prelacy—bishops consecrated in London—their arrival in Edinburgh—they are restored to all their privileges and immunities—disgraceful acts of parliament—impious ceremony at burning the covenanters in Linlithgow—Glasgow act—ejection of between three and four hundred ministers—several of them banished—Bishop Burnet's character of the Covenanters.

THE restoration of Charles II., who, previously to his arrival in England, had expressed his satisfaction to a deputation from the Scottish church, that “he was a covenanted king,” excited the utmost joy among the Presbyterians in Scotland. But no sooner was he settled upon the throne, than he discovered his intention of effectually ruining the Covenanters, and of re-establishing Prelacy in its fullest extent throughout the kingdom. With this view, Middleton was appointed commissioner to the next parliament; Lauderdale, secretary; Glencairn, chancellor; Rothes, president of the council; Crawford, treasurer; and Sir John Fletcher, lord advo-

cate—men, in general, of any or of no religion, and all devoted to the measures of their arbitrary master. (Kirkton, p. 67. Burnet, vol. i. p. 162, et seq.) Nay, as a specimen of the infamous line of conduct which government intended to pursue in regard to the Presbyterians in Scotland, so early as the month of July, 1660, orders were issued for the apprehension of Sir James Stewart, provost of Edinburgh; Sir John Chiesly, and Archibald Johnston of Warriston. The two former were accordingly arrested, and lodged in the castle of Edinburgh, but the latter for the present made his escape. The Marquis of Argyle, too, who had placed the crown on the head of the faithless monarch, was seized in London, whither he had repaired to pay his respects to his majesty, and dragged to the tower. (Burnet, vol. i. p. 171. Naphtali, p. 179. Scots Worthies, p. 197.)

Glencairn having arrived in Scotland, the committee of estates, who were entrusted with the management of affairs in that kingdom till the meeting of parliament, assembled at Edinburgh on the 23d of August. On that day Messrs. Guthrie, Stirling, Trail, Moncrieff, Semple, Ramsay, Scott, Hall, Murray, and Nairne, ministers, with Messrs. Hay and

Kirkco, elders, perceiving the threatening aspect of affairs, met in a private house in Edinburgh to draw up an humble petition to the king, "congratulating his return, expressing their entire and unfeigned loyalty, and humbly reminding him of his own and the nation's covenant with God."* While thus employed, the estates, who had been informed of their meeting, immediately arrested these faithful and disinterested patriots, and imprisoned them in the castle of Edinburgh. (Apologetical Relation, p. 69.) The day following the committee issued a proclamation "against all unlawful and unwarrantable meetings and conventicles, without his majesty's special authority, and against all seditious petitions and remonstrances, under what pretext soever." But as if these cruel and arbitrary infringements of the subjects'

* These few ministers, who were among the number of the Protestors, had endeavoured, in vain, to induce their brethren, the Resolutioners, to concur with them in addressing his majesty. The latter, relying on the hypocritical Sharpe, remained culpably silent till both parties were involved in one common ruin. The government at first directed all its vengeance against the Protestors, whose ruin being accomplished, the persecution, as we shall afterwards see, was extended to the Resolutioners, who at present were little else than the dupes of designing men. Mr. Guthrie, who was at this time imprisoned, was never released till, by a glorious martyrdom, he sealed his testimony with his blood.

rights were insufficient, the estates stooped to several actions as disgraceful as they were contemptible, plainly showing at once their hatred to the Covenanters, and their obsequiousness to the tyrant. Among these were the erasing of the inscriptions from the tombs of Alexander Henderson in Edinburgh, and George Gillespie in Kirkaldy ; and ordering the works entitled "Lex Rex," and "Causes of God's wrath," the former written by Mr. Samuel Rutherford, and the latter by Mr. James Guthrie, to be burned by the hands of the common hangman.* Having imprisoned a number of other ministers and private Christians, on the ground that they had, either formerly or at present, spoken words reflecting on the proceedings of gov-

* "It was much easier," as Wodrow pertinently remarks, "to burn those books, than to answer the reasonings and facts in them." "As for burning the Causes of Wrath," says McWard, "I grant that wickedness hath a perfect parallel, but of a tremendous consequence, in Jehoiakim's practice, recorded Jer. xxxvi. 23. But let it be taken notice of how the anger of the Lord burnt against this bold burner ; see his burial and epitaph, Jer. xxii. 18, 19. But more particularly, see how for this very consummating wickedness, he and his posterity for ever, are deprived of crown and sceptre : Jer. xxxvi. 30. His brother Zedekiah, it is true, was made king for a time ; but he also continued to do evil in the sight of the Lord, and broke the Covenant of God, and then the Lord swepted that race, for these rebellions against him, together with the throne, off the face of the earth."—Tracts, pp. 149, 150.

ernment, the committee adjourned ; and great preparations were made for the ensuing meeting of parliament.*

In the meantime, Sharpe arrived in Edinburgh from London, with a letter from Charles to Mr. Robert Douglas, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, to be by him communicated to the presbytery. This artful letter, which was penned by Sharpe himself, informed the presbytery that his “majesty was resolved to protect and preserve the government of the church of Scotland, as it is settled by law, without violation ;” which declaration was evidently made to lull the suspicions of the Covenanters until the parliament had re-established Prelacy ; for *then* the religion, “settled by law,” would sanction the coercive measures which it was intended should follow against the Presbyterian faith. (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 82. Kirkton, p. 75.)

The parliament, which met on the 1st of January, 1661, was composed of members

* The imprisonment of so many individuals at this time cannot be defended by the bitterest enemies of the Covenanters ; none of them being guilty in the smallest point of rebellion or treason ; every one of them owning the king’s authority ; and not a few of them having suffered in the cause of Charles during the period that he was in exile. But they were attached to the covenants ! Crookshank, vol. i. p. 73.

previously selected, and who were in general devoted to the measures of the court—the greater part of those who opposed the unwarrantable innovations of government being either imprisoned or cited as delinquents, (Kirkton, p. 88.) Mr. Robert Douglas having opened the session by a faithful and an appropriate sermon from 2 Chron. xix. 6,* Middleton produced his commission, and Glencairn, in virtue of his office as chancellor, was, contrary to the privilege of parliament, appointed president. Among the first acts which were past by this obsequious assembly, was, “the oath of allegiance” to be taken by all the members, in which the king was rendered supreme in all matters civil and ecclesiastical. By another act, “the calling, holding, proroguing, or dissolving all parliaments, conventions or meetings of estates,” was declared to reside in the sovereign alone; “and that all meetings, without his special warrant were null and void.” Having next proceeded to enact that “no convocations, leagues, or bonds, be made without the sovereign,” and that “the rais-

* Mr. Douglas's sermon was far from being relished by the members of this parliament; they soon discovered “they had not pitched upon a fit tool. Their delight was in the northern turn-coats.”—Kirkton, p. 89.

ing of subjects in arms is and was the sovereign's undoubted right, and that it shall be high treason for any subjects to raise an army without the king's allowance," the parliament proceeded to annul the covenant which many of themselves had so lately sworn. This act not only condemned the Solemn League, but prohibited, under the severest penalties, its renewal without the king's warrant and approbation. (Burnet, vol. i. p. 188. Naphtali, p. 182.) Proceeding still further in the demolition of Presbyterianism, the parliament ordered the "oath of allegiance" above mentioned, together with "an instrument asserting his majesty's royal prerogative," to be taken by all persons in offices of trust. By this oath the king was acknowledged to possess an absolute and unlimited power; the covenants were solemnly renounced; and, in short, the whole work of reformation in Scotland was condemned. (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 93, et seq.) But as if even all this was not sufficient, a sweeping act was framed, which completely destroyed the civil liberties of the nation, as well as the constitution of the Presbyterian church. This was the "Rescissory Act," by which not particular statutes only, but the

acts of every parliament since 1633 were at once annulled ! Such a dangerous, unconstitutional and base deed, which subverted the most valuable privileges of the nation, is not, and cannot be defended by the very enemies of Presbyterianism. "It was a most extravagant act," says Bishop Burnet, "only fit to be concluded after a drunken bout. It shook all possible security for the future, and laid down a most pernicious precedent." (Burnet, vol. i. p. 193. Apologetical Relation, p. 127. Hind Let Loose, p. 113.) Having in conclusion permitted presbyteries and synods to meet *for a few weeks longer*, the 29th of May, the day on which Charles was restored to the throne, was appointed to be set apart as a day "to be kept holy to the Lord for ever;" the oppressive law of patronage was restored ; and Prelacy in effect was already introduced, to the exclusion of the religion of the country. (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 103.)

While the parliament were thus wantonly sacrificing to a despotic government the dearest rights of their constituents, the Presbyterian ministers, who beheld their unhallowed proceedings with grief and alarm, endeavoured by every means in their power to

stem the torrent which now threatened to overwhelm every thing held sacred by the people. With this view, fasts were appointed in different parts of the kingdom; the ministers of Edinburgh and those in the neighbouring presbyteries presented several overtures to Middleton in favour of their religious privileges; and numerous petitions and remonstrances were given in to the commissioner from other presbyteries against the passing of acts so decidedly opposed to the religion of the nation. The synod of Glasgow and Ayr, following the example of their brethren in other parts of the country, framed an address and supplication to parliament for the security of their religion; but this being opposed by several of the Resolutioners, and especially by those who afterwards accepted of bishoprics, it was, for the sake of unanimity, laid aside; but "a declaration concerning the present government of the Church of Scotland" was unanimously agreed to. The synods of Fife, Galloway, Dumfries,* &c., were employed in a similar

* "Ere their paper," viz. that of the synod of Dumfries, "could see light, they were summarily dissolved by Queensberry and Hartfield, who, by report, were both miserably drunk when they came into their work."—Kirkton, p. 119.

work—of drawing up petitions in favour of Presbytery—when they were met by a summary mandate from parliament to disperse, under pain of treason. Thus were the laudable efforts of the most worthy men in the country frustrated; and oppression and violence were every where resorted to, for the purpose of compelling the nation to sacrifice their conscience at the shrine of prelatical tyranny and usurpation. (Crookshank, vol. i. p. 30, et seq.)

But it was not enough for this disgraceful parliament to refuse the humble and upright supplications of their constituents: they proceeded to fix an indelible stain on their own memory, by sealing their iniquitous laws with the best and the noblest blood of the country. The marquis of Argyle, who had been sent down from London in the preceding December, and lodged in the castle of Edinburgh, was brought to trial before the parliament on the 13th of February. His indictment consisted of fourteen articles, which were made up of slander, perverted matters of fact, and misrepresentation. Among other crimes which were laid to his charge, were the following—That he called the convention of estates in 1643; that he

entered into the solemn league and covenant with England; that he inflicted cruelties on the royalists in the north; that he opposed the engagement; that he clogged his majesty's invitation in 1649 with unjust limitations; and that he complied with the usurper Cromwell. Argyle having expressed his satisfaction at the king's restoration, meekly replied, that with Paul, in another case, he might say, the things alleged against him could not be proved; but this he confessed, that in the way allowed by solemn oaths and covenants, he served his God, his king and country; and that, though he had failings common to all who were engaged in public business, yet he thanked God that he was able to show the falsehood of every charge brought against him.* He was allowed first till the 5th of March, and ultimately till the 9th of April, to give in his defences. These he produced on the day appointed, consisting of fifteen sheets of small print, in which,

* His advocates protested, that "what should escape them in pleading, either by word or writ, for the life, honour, and estate of their client, might not be charged against them as treasonable." This was however refused by the parliament! And according to the infamous statute of "Leasing Making," these and all other advocates were themselves liable to be tried for treason, for any observations which might escape them in pleading for their clients.

to any impartial judge, he triumphantly vindicated himself from the charges laid against him in the indictment. All was however of no avail. His blood-thirsty and avaricious judges (who expected to share in the spoil) sentenced him to be beheaded on the 27th of the month, and his head to be fixed on the end of the Tolbooth. When this sentence was pronounced, Argyle replied, that he had placed the crown on the king's head, who was hastening him to a better crown than his own; and he hoped God would bestow on his majesty a crown of glory. Although he requested a delay of only ten days till the king should be informed of his sentence, yet that was refused; and he was immediately taken away to the common jail, where he was met by the marchioness. On seeing her, he said, "They have given me till Monday to be with you, my dear; therefore let us improve it." She embracing him, wept bitterly, and in an agony replied, "The Lord will require it, the Lord will require it!" The marquis having spent the Sabbath not only calmly, but cheerfully, in the solemn services of his Redeemer, his lady, at his own desire, took leave of him in the evening, after which he slept a few hours

in the utmost tranquillity. On the day of his execution, he dined with his friends precisely at twelve, with the greatest cheerfulness, and then, as his custom was, retired a little for secret prayer. Upon his opening the door, Mr. Hutchison said, "What cheer, my lord?" "Good cheer, sir," he replied; "the Lord hath again confirmed, and said to me from heaven, *Thy sins be forgiven thee.*" When required to go down stairs, he called for a glass of wine, and asked a blessing upon it standing, and then said, "Now let us go; and God go with us." In taking leave of those in the room who were not to be with him on the scaffold, he said, "I could die like a Roman, but choose rather to die like a Christian. Come away, gentlemen, he that goes first, goes cleanest." When on the scaffold, he solemnly declared his innocence of having any hand in the late king's death; and then added, "I shall not speak much to those things for which I am condemned, lest I seem to condemn others. I wish the Lord to pardon them; I say no more. God hath laid engagements upon Scotland; we are tied by covenants to religion and reformation. Those that were then unborn are yet engaged; and it passeth the power

of all the magistrates under heaven to absolve from the oath of God. These times are like to be very sinning or very suffering times, and let Christians make their choice." He then knelt down, when his head was struck from his body, and fixed on the Tolbooth, and his body given to his friends for interment. (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 137, et. seq. Crookshank, vol. i. pp. 88, 89. Naphtali, p. 285. Apologetical Relation, p. 77. Baillie, vol. ii. p. 452.)

Thus fell this amiable, upright, and godly nobleman, whose steadfast adherence to the covenants and the work of Reformation was so unjustly punished with death. With his blood Prelacy, that "root of bitterness," was again planted in Scotland, and a scene of slaughter among the servants of God immediately followed, which men may attempt in their writings to palliate, but for which Heaven will not hold the perpetrators guiltless.

Argyle was followed to the scaffold by that able and distinguished minister of Christ, James Guthrie, whose uniform adherence to the king, and opposition to the usurper, rendered his condemnation, if possible, still more iniquitous. Having been brought to the bar of parliament, he was accused of contriving,

the western remonstrance, of writing the work entitled, "Causes of God's Wrath," of subscribing the petition to the king in August last, and of declining his majesty's authority in ecclesiastical matters. These charges he answered in a speech so nervous and convincing—satisfactorily proving that in no instance had he ever acted a part either seditious and treasonable—that a number of members left the house, declaring that "they would have nothing to do with the blood of that righteous man." But Middleton was determined on his death, on account of his having in 1656 published against him the sentence of excommunication pronounced by the church for his profligate and disgraceful conduct. Mr. Guthrie was therefore condemned to be executed at the cross of Edinburgh on the 1st of June, along with William Govan,* and his head to be fixed on the Netherbow port. Upon receiving his sentence, Mr. Guthrie said, "My lords, may this sentence never more afflict you than it does me, and let my blood never be required

* Govan, among other charges, was accused of being on the scaffold at the execution of Charles I.; but it is proved that this was not the case, and that he fell a sacrifice to the same cause for which all the other martyrs suffered. M'Kenzie's Hist., p. 51. Scots Worthies, p. 73.

of the king's family." From this period till the time of his execution, he continued in the most serene and devout frame of mind ; and when on the ladder, he delivered his last speech with as great composure as if he had been preaching a sermon. Having then cried, " The covenants, the covenants, shall yet be Scotland's reviving," he was turned over, and died rejoicing in the Lord. (Naphtali, p. 291, et seq.)

The injustice of Mr. Guthrie's sentence was evident to all, both friends and foes ; even Sir George M'Kenzie does not attempt to justify it ; (M'Kenzie's Hist., p. 51. Hind Let Loose, p. 113,) nay, Charles himself, when informed of this act of the parliament's severity, asked with some warmth, " And what have you done with Mr. Patrick Gillespie ?" On being told that Mr. Gillespie had been spared on account of the number of friends he had in the house, he replied, " Well, had I known that you would have spared Mr. Gillespie, I would have spared Mr. Guthrie." (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 179.) Mr. Gillespie, who was principal of the college of Glasgow, was indicted on nearly the same charges as those which had been preferred against Mr. Guthrie ; but through the interest of his friends in

parliament, and his own expression of regret for the part he had taken, he was only removed from his living.

Though no more blood was shed during this session of parliament, yet many other Covenanters were subjected to severe persecution for their steadfast adherence to their principles. Lord Warriston and several other gentlemen were forfeited; Mr. Alexander Moncreiff, minister of Scoonie, in Fife, was prohibited from preaching; Mr. Robert Trail was imprisoned; and Mr. James Simpson, minister at Airth, and Mr. Robert Macward, minister in Glasgow, were banished from the kingdom. Mr. Samuel Rutherford would have fallen a victim to the fury of these persecutors, had not divine providence removed him from their hands by death, which, after a life spent in communion with God, was to him unspeakable gain.*

On the adjournment of parliament, which

* It is the fashion of the day to hold up to ridicule the writings of Mr. Rutherford, for their homely style; and presumption, enthusiasm, nay, profanity and blasphemy, are now found in them by men who seem to have as little acquaintance with experimental religion as with their Bible. Let such, however, beware of reprobating those whom God has highly honoured; for if they condemn Rutherford's Letters for their alleged familiarity with the Deity, they may be led to go a step further, and condemn the writings of David and Solomon for the same reason.

took place on the 12th of July, Middleton repaired to London, leaving the management of affairs in the hands of the privy council, who carried on their arbitrary proceedings with a high hand. As a specimen of their tyranny, the Earl of Tweeddale was imprisoned in the castle for having spoken in the council in vindication of Mr. Guthrie, and for not having voted in parliament for his death!

Middleton having informed the king of all that had been done in Scotland, Charles and his council, especially Middleton and Sharpe, resolved to complete the work, by abolishing Presbytery and re-establishing Episcopacy in its full extent.* Charles, accordingly, wrote to the privy council in Scotland the following disgraceful letter, dated Aug. 14, on which it would be superfluous to offer any comment: "Whereas in the month of August, 1660, we did by our letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, declare our purpose to maintain the government of the Church of Scotland

* "The king," says Kirkton, "even as his father, was resolved for bishops, notwithstanding his oath to the contrary—he knew well that bishops would never be reprovers of the court, and that the first article of their catechism was non-resistance. They were the best tools for tyranny in the world." Hist., p. 132.

settled by law ; and our parliament having since that time, not only rescinded all the acts since the troubles began referring to that government, but also declared all those pretended parliaments null and void, and left to us the settling and securing of church government, &c.—We from our respect to the glory of God, and the good and interest of the Protestant religion, from our pious care and princely zeal for the order, unity, peace, and stability of that church, and its better harmony with the government of the churches of England and Ireland, have, after due deliberation, declared to those of our council here, our firm resolution to interpose our royal authority for restoring of that church to its right government by bishops, as it was by law before the late troubles, during the reigns of our royal father and grandfather of blessed memory, and as it now stands settled by law.—And our will is, that you forthwith take such course with the rents belonging to the several bishoprics and deaneries, that they may be restored and made useful to the church, and that according to justice and the standing law. And moreover, you are to inhibit the assembling of ministers in their several synodical meetings throughout the

kingdom, until our future pleasure, and to keep a watchful eye over all who, upon any pretext whatsoever, shall, by discoursing, preaching, reviling, or any irregular or unlawful way, endeavour to alienate the affections of our people, or dispose them to an ill opinion of us, and our government, to the disturbance of the peace of the kingdom.”

A proclamation was accordingly issued by the privy council agreeably to the tenor of his majesty's mandate, which was followed by another commanding all burghs to elect none as magistrates who were of *fanatical* principles.* Presbyteries were at the same time prohibited from ordaining any individual to the ministry, under pain of treason. (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 230.)

The next step of government was to appoint a sufficient number of bishops for the newly formed Episcopal Church of Scotland. These were easily found; but as only one of the old Scottish bishops remained alive, some difficulty occurred as to their ordination. This difficulty was, however, removed by the English bishops insisting on the invalidity of Presbyterian ordination; and the following

* That is, in plain English, those who were conscientious and godly men.

apostate Scottish ministers who accepted of the office, were consequently re-ordained and consecrated with great splendour by the bishops of London and Worcester. The hypocritical and worthless Sharpe, who had so basely betrayed his church, was made metropolitan and archbishop of St. Andrews; Mr. Andrew Fairfoul, archbishop of Glasgow, Mr. James Hamilton, bishop of Galloway,* and Mr. Robert Leighton, bishop of Dunblane.† Sydsersf, the old Scottish bishop, was put into the see of Orkney. Having magnificently entertained the Scottish and English nobility in London, these new made bishops returned to Scotland in the beginning of 1662; and with the exception of Leighton, entered Edinburgh with so much pomp and splendour, that even Burnet was

* Both Fairfoul and Hamilton were once zealous Covenanters, but they had sadly fallen in every point of view, both in character and profession, Hamilton in particular, when administering the ordinance of the Lord's Supper to his people in Cambusnethan, not only excommunicated all who were not true to the covenant, but significantly shaking his lap, he intimated that thus would all, who in that covenant dealt falsely, be cast out of the church. Burnet's Hist., vol. i. p. 219.

† Leighton, though guilty of renouncing his former solemn vows, was a man of excellent character. He was, besides, learned, pious, and peaceable; and was consequently a solitary exception to his brethren in the Episcopal office in Scotland.

ashamed of the scene. (Burnet's Hist., vol. i. p. 234.) The revelry which followed among these right reverends and their profligate associates, was so indecent and disgusting, that Leighton himself, who refused to join in their carousals, was forced to say, "That in the whole progress of this affair, there appeared such gross characters of an angry Providence, that how fully soever he was satisfied as to Episcopacy itself, yet it seemed that God was against them, and that they were not like to be the men who should build up his church, so that the struggling about it seemed to him like a fighting against God." (Burnet, vol. i. p. 231. Kirkton, p. 135.) The other nine bishops to complete the complement for Scotland, were consecrated at Holyroodhouse on the 7th of May;* and on the 8th, the day on which the parliament assembled, in consequence of an act being passed re-establishing them in all their privileges and immunities, they took their seats in the house as members of the legisla-

* These nine were of a piece with those noticed above; so that the remark of the countryman was far from being inapplicable; "That the bishops of England were like the kings of Judah, some good, some bad; but that the prelates in Scotland were like the kings of Israel, not one of them good, but all followers of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin."—Crookshank, vol. i. p. 111.

ture. Thus was Prelacy forced upon the people of Scotland, without even asking their consent. Nay, those presbyteries which had assembled to petition against the innovations were summarily dissolved, and all church judicatories were prohibited from re-assembling, under the severest penalties—the government of the church being now vested in the bishops.

By the first act of this session of parliament, which restored the prelates to much greater dignity than their predecessors ever enjoyed,* it was declared, that “the ordering and disposal of the external government and policy of the church belongs to his majesty as an inherent right of the crown, by virtue of his royal prerogative and supremacy in causes ecclesiastical.” The parliament, whose acts, to use the words of Wodrow, “established iniquity by law,” next proceeded to declare the covenants, both national and solemn league, to be unlawful, imposed against the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and with the acts of assembly by which they were approved, not only void and null, but abrogated

* It is not inappositely remarked by Wodrow, “that the old Prelates made by the parliament in 1612, were but pigmies to the present high and mighty lords.”—Wodrow, vol. i. p. 262.

as seditious; and “any writing, speaking, printing, preaching, praying, &c., tending to stir up a dislike of his majesty’s royal prerogative and supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, or the government by archbishops and bishops now settled, or tending to justify any thing done since 1638,” subjected the offender to all the pains appointed by the law for sedition. This unhallowed act, which, as we shall afterwards see, entailed on the Covenanters the most dreadful persecution, completely destroyed the liberty of the subject, and enslaved at once the bodies and consciences of the people to the very worst species of despotism. (*Apologetical Relation*, p. 181. *Hind Let Loose*, p. 115.)

Having passed an act requiring all ministers who had been settled in parishes since 1649, to take presentations from their respective patrons, and have collation from the bishop of their diocese, under pain of being deprived of their benefices; the parliament ordained every person who assumed an office of trust to take the following most disgraceful and ensnaring oath:—“I —— do sincerely affirm and declare, that I judge it unlawful to subjects, upon pretext of reformation, or any other pretext whatsoever, to enter

into leagues and covenants, or to take up arms against the king or those commissioned by him; and that all those gatherings, convocations, petitions, protestations, and erecting or keeping of council tables that were used in the beginning, and for the carrying on of the late troubles, were unlawful and seditious; and particularly, that those oaths whereof the one was commonly called ‘The National Covenant,’ (as it was sworn and explained in the year 1638 and thereafter,) and the other, entitled, ‘A Solemn League and Covenant,’ were and are in themselves unlawful oaths, and were taken by, and imposed upon, the subjects of this kingdom, against the fundamental laws and liberties of the same; and that there lieth no obligation upon one or any of the subjects, from the said oaths or either of them, to endeavour any change or alteration of the government either in church or state, as it is now established by the laws of this kingdom.” We leave the reader to make his own remarks on this oath, which was one of many—not only unlawful but contradictory of each other—imposed on the consciences of the Covenanters, and which became afterwards another great instrument of oppression and cruelty. (Wod-

row, vol. i. p. 268. Burnet's Hist., vol. i. p. 241. Naphtali, p. 102. Apologetical Relation, p. 327.)

Before finishing the session, an act of oblivion was passed; but it was encumbered with so many restrictions, that to multitudes it became an act of oppression instead of an act of indemnity. Besides excepting Argyle, Warriston, Swinton, and several others, exorbitant fines were arbitrarily imposed on those whom a committee, named by parliament should select, for having complied with the usurper Cromwell. Seven or eight hundred noblemen, gentlemen, and others, were accordingly fined in a sum amounting in whole to £1,017,353, 6s. 8d. Scots. The act was besides encumbered with another unprinted act, depriving of all places of public trust twelve persons whom the parliament, by *ballot*, should name. This was a scheme devised by Middleton, to deprive Lauderdale and several others of their present high situations. It, however, proved the means of his own ruin, for being overreached by the superior tact of Lauderdale, he was sent to Tangier,* and the latter,

* "In Tangier," says Wodrow, "Middleton lived but a short while, in contempt, till death seized him; and by

nothing to the benefit of Scotland, was advanced to the uncontrolled direction of affairs in that kingdom. (Burnet's Hist., vol. i. p. 348.)

This session of parliament was finished on the 9th of September, without bloodshed, though not without persecution in various other shapes; leaving the management of affairs in the hands of the privy council. Before, however, entering upon the abominable deeds of that corrupt junto, we shall give some account of the manner in which the 29th of May that year—the day already noticed, which was commanded under a severe penalty, to be kept holy for ever—was spent in Linlithgow. After divine service, the magistrates, with the Earl of Linlithgow, repaired to the market place, where they were met by Mr. James Ramsay, minister of

a fall he broke the bone of his right arm, and the broken bone, at the next tumble down a pair of stairs, went into his side and wounded him, so as he turned first stupid, and very quickly died. I have it from good hands, that in times of taking the covenant, such was his forward zeal for it, that coming out of the place where he and others had taken it, he said to some gentlemen and others about him, 'That this was the pleasantest day he had ever seen, and if ever he should do any thing against that blessed work he had been engaging in, holding up his right arm, he wished to God that might be his death.' Whether he had his wish at Tangier, he now knows best."—Hist., vol. i. p. 349.

the parish, who was once a zealous Covenanter. Having sung a psalm, the whole party drank the health of the royal family, and then proceeded to *the solemnities of the day!* namely, the impious and profane burning of those very covenants* which they themselves had solemnly sworn. This was performed in the following manner, which we shall give in the words of an eye witness of the transaction. "At the cross was erected an arch standing upon four pillars: on the one side of the arch was placed a statue, in form of an old hag, having the covenant in her hand, with this superscription, **A GLORIOUS REFORMATION.** On the other side, there was another statue, in a Whigmuir's habit, having the remonstrance in his hand, with this inscription, **NO ASSOCIATION WITH MALIGNANTS.** On the top of the arch was placed a statue, representing the devil as an angel of light, with this label in his mouth, **STAND TO THE CAUSE.** Within the arch, upon the right hand, was drawn a committee of estates, with this superscription, **ACT FOR DELIVERING UP THE KING.**

* The Solemn League had been previously consigned to the flames in London by the hands of the common hangman.

On the left hand, was drawn a commission of the kirk, with this inscription, ACT OF THE WEST KIRK; and in the middle of the arch hung a tablet with this litany :

From Covenanters with uplifted hands,
From remonstrators with associate bands,
From such committees as governed this nation,
From kirk commissions and their protestation,
Good Lord deliver us.

Upon the back of the arch was drawn the picture of rebellion, in a religious habit, with eyes turned up, and other fanatic gestures : in its right hand holding LEX REX, and in its left THE CAUSES OF GOD'S WRATH. Round about her were lying acts of parliaments, acts of committees of estates, of general assemblies, commissions of the kirk, &c.; and above her was this superscription, REBELLION IS AS THE SIN OF WITCHCRAFT. At drinking the king's health, fire was put to the frame, and all was consumed to ashes; after which there appeared a tablet supported by two angels, bearing this inscription :

Great Britain's monarch on this day was born,
And to his kingdoms happily restored.
The Queen's arrived, the mitre now is worn;
Let us rejoice, this day is from the Lord.

Fly hence, all traitors who did mar our peace,
Fly hence, schismatics who our church did-rent,

Fly covenanting, remonstrating race;
Let us rejoice that God this day hath sent.”*

Any comment on this execrable transaction, which to this day has left a foul stain on that fallen town, would be superfluous; there being as yet no law requiring so fearful an outrage to be committed, on what was conscientiously held sacred by thousands throughout the kingdom.

The privy council having met on the day following the adjournment of parliament, an order was issued for diocesan meetings to be held throughout the country in the month of October. These orders were in general disregarded by the ministers in the south and west, who were encouraged in their opposition to the unhallowed mandates of the government by the noble stand made by the nonconformist ministers in England, who, to the number of three thousand, chose to be thrust out of their livings and subjected to persecution, rather than violate their consciences. In order to carry their enactments into effect, the privy council repaired to the west country, their progress being marked by the most disgraceful debauchery. In Ayr

* Wodrow, vol. i. p. 320. Crookshank, vol. i. p. 122.
Cloud of Witnesses, preface.

they drank the devil's health at midnight at the market-cross, and then proceeded to Glasgow to promote the grand cause of Prelacy, and give another blow to the covenant. Fairfoul, the bishop of that diocese—having complained, that, notwithstanding the act of parliament, none of the young ministers had acknowledged him as their bishop, and that, consequently, he had all the odium of the office, but none of its power—requested that all who refused to submit might be banished from their parishes. The council was accordingly convened at Glasgow on the first of October, when an act was framed by this drunken meeting—for only two of the members were sober—depriving of their stipends for the past year, and banishing from their parishes and presbyteries, all ministers admitted since 1649, who had not presentations, or received collation from their bishops. (Kirkton, p. 149.) By this famous, or rather infamous act, between three and four hundred ministers were driven penniless from their houses and their flocks in the midst of winter; and their places were afterwards supplied by ignorant and worthless intruders, who, according to Burnet, “had little learning, less piety, and no sort of dis-

cretion.” (Burnet’s Hist., vol. i. p. 257. Naph-tali, p. 193. Hind Let Loose, p. 117. Wod-row, vol. i. p. 334, who gives a list of all the ousted ministers.)

When Middleton, who imagined that this act would only enforce compliance with the laws in favour of Prelacy, perceived the desolation it occasioned throughout the country, more than a third part of the churches being shut up for want of ministers, he vainly endeavoured to remedy the error by extending the period for submission till the 1st of February following. With this *gracious* proclamation, however, there was coupled a threat that non-compliance would be visited with still heavier punishments. Nor was this an idle threat. The non-conforming ministers of Edinburgh were banished; and because several of those who had been ejected by the Glasgow act had repaired to that city, the council ordered the magistrates to compel the inhabitants, under a penalty, to render to them every evening an account of the number and names of their lodgers. Messrs. Donald Cargill of Glasgow, Thomas Wylie of Kirkcudbright, and several other eminent ministers were banished to different parts of the country for refusing to swear the oath of

allegiance, and keep sacred the 29th of May ; (Burnet's History, vol. i. p. 240,) while the following ministers, Messrs. John Livingstone of Ancrum, John Brown of Wamphray, Robert Trail of Edinburgh, John Nevoy of Newmills and James Gardiner of Kintyre, after enduring much suffering in prison, were, for the same reason, banished from his majesty's dominions. A few only of the Presbyterian ministers were persuaded to take the oath, a step of which they had cause to repent afterwards, when additional and still more intolerable burdens were laid upon their consciences. (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 318. Scots Worthies, p. 135.)

But before entering upon the history of the following year, we shall give here a sketch of the character of these persecuted Covenanters, neither from a Presbyterian nor a novelist, but from a prelate, who, amidst his charges of enthusiasm, affectation, &c. which, of course, come naturally enough from his pen, speaks of them in the manner following :—"The former incumbents (those who were ejected by the Glasgow act) who were for the most part Protestors, were a grave solemn sort of people. Their spirits were eager, and their tempers sour ; but they

had an appearance that created respect. They used to visit their parishes much—were full of the Scripture—were ready at extempore prayer—and had brought the people to such a degree of knowledge, that cottagers and servants would have prayed extempore. Their ministers brought their people about them on the Sunday nights, where the sermons were talked over; and every one, women as well as men, were desired to speak their sense and their experience, and by these means they had a comprehension of matters of religion greater than I have seen among people of that sort any where. The preachers went all in one tract, of raising observations on points of doctrine out of their text, and proving these by reasons, and then of applying those, and showing the use that was to be made of such a point of doctrine, both for instruction and terror, for exhortation and comfort, for trial of themselves upon it, and for furnishing them with proper directions and helps: and this was so methodical that the people grew to follow a sermon quite through every branch of it. As they lived in great familiarity with their people, and used to pray and to talk oft with them in private, so it can hardly be imagined to what

a degree they were loved and revered by them. They kept scandalous persons under a severe discipline: for breach of Sabbath, for an oath, or the least disorder in drunkenness, persons were cited before the church session, that consisted of ten or twelve of the chief of the parish, who, with the minister, had this care upon them, and were solemnly reproved for it." For fornication and other crimes they were rebuked before the church. (Burnet, vol. i. pp. 258, 259.)

CHAPTER VI.

Origin of "conventicles"—proceedings of parliament—trial and execution of Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston—arbitrary acts of council—outrages committed by the military—high commission court re-established—cruelties of Sir James Turner in the west—he is seized by a number of the Covenanters—partial rising of the west country—declaration at Lanark—defeat of the Covenanters at Pentland—barbarous treatment of the prisoners—execution of M'Culloch, Arnot, and eight others—their joint testimony—Nielson of Corsack and Hugh M'Kail tortured and put to death—executions in the west—barbarities of Dalrymple and Bannatyne—reduction of the army—attempt by Mitchell to assassinate Sharpe—examination of John Wilkie before the council—the Indulgence—reasons why many of the Presbyterians rejected it—disgraceful proceedings of parliament—sanguinary acts against conventicles—their increase and beneficial effects—Leighton's futile attempt to unite Presbytery and Prelacy.

WE have already adverted to some of the fatal effects of the Glasgow act, which not only

deprived the people of pastors whom they respected and loved, but forced upon them men who “were the very dregs and refuse of the north country—ignorant to a reproach—and many of them openly vicious.”* Can we wonder, then, that in these circumstances many of the people opposed the settlement of the worthless intruders? Or may we not rather wonder, that a more general stand was not made throughout the country, against so disgraceful an outrage, not only on religion but even on common decency? But the military were at hand, and where the dissolute curates were not permitted to enter their benefices quietly, they were protected and settled in them by an armed force. Thus overawed, the people naturally enough abandoned their own churches, and either repaired to distant parishes to hear the gospel from those who were not included in the recent vile act, or remained in their own houses, mourning in secret over the desolations of Zion. And can they be blamed for so acting? Let Scripture decide the question, and the answer, we are assured, will be returned.

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 262. Kirkton, p. 160. For a sad account of the shameless conduct not only of the curates, but of the bishops, see Wodrow, vol. i. p. 333.

in favour of the Covenanters. Others again attended the family exercises of their old ministers who had been ejected, by means of which they received so much benefit, that multitudes were led to follow their example. These assemblies soon became so great, that the ministers at first preached without doors, and then went to the open fields, where, under the canopy of heaven, they preached the glad tidings of salvation to the perishing multitudes who flocked to their ministrations. Such was the origin of field preachings, or "conventicles" as they were termed, for attending which, thousands, both ministers and people, were subjected to the most dreadful sufferings. (History of the Indulgence, p. 12. Hind Let Loose, p. 120.) These assemblies alarmed the curates, who, in many places, preached to little more than bare walls, and force was immediately resorted to by the privy council, in order to compel the people to attend their own parish churches. But passing at present these and other acts of the council in favour of Prelacy, together with their relentless execution on the objects of their fury—a detail of which the limited nature of the present work will not admit—we shall proceed to give

some account of the proceedings of the parliament which assembled on the 18th of June, 1663.

To this parliament Rothes was appointed commissioner, in room of Middleton, and the business of the session was managed chiefly by Lauderdale. As formerly, the principal employment of the session related to the consolidating of Prelacy, and the ruining of the Covenanters. Enraged at the refusal of the people to hear the curates, the bishops procured an act to be passed, entitled, "Act against separation and disobedience to ecclesiastical authority." By this act, all non-conformist ministers, who should presume to preach in any place, under any pretence, were to be punished as seditious; and all persons who should absent themselves on Sabbath from their own parish churches were subjected to the penalties following:—Every nobleman or heritor, to the fourth part of his yearly revenue; every yeoman, tenant, or farmer, to a fourth of his free movables; and every burghess to the same exaction, besides losing his freedom.* The execution of this act was entrusted to the

* This act was termed, *The bishop's drag net*.

privy council, who, in addition, were to inflict such corporal punishment on offenders as they might judge proper. (Burnet, vol. i. p. 341. Wodrow, vol. i. p. 351.)

While the parliament was thus employed in subjecting the nation to monarchical and prelatical despotism, Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston, who had been forfeited and condemned in the first session, was seized in France, and sent over a prisoner to Scotland. While in Hamburgh, an attempt had been made by the emissaries of Charles, to poison him, (Apologetical Relation, Preface. Kirkton, p. 170.) which, though partially counteracted, so weakened his mind, that when brought before parliament, his altered appearance excited the commiseration of several of the members, who earnestly requested a delay of his sentence. But Lauderdale was inexorable, and Warriston was condemned to be executed on the 22d of July, and his head to be fixed on the Netherbow port. The day before his execution his faculties were completely restored, and he appeared on the scaffold another witness for the cause of Christ, and for the covenanted work of reformation. "I am pressed in conscience," said he in his last moments, "to

leave here at my death, my true and honest testimony in the sight of God and man, to and for the national covenant, the solemn league and covenant, the solemn acknowledgment of our sins and engagement to our duties—and to the several testimonies given to the Lord's interest, by general assemblies, commissions of the kirk, presbyteries, and by other honest and faithful ministers and professors. I am also pressed to encourage his doing, suffering, witnessing people, and sympathizing ones with those that suffer, that they would continue in these duties, and humbly to assure them, in the name of the Lord our God, the God of his own word and work, of his cause, covenant, and people, that he will be seen, found, and felt, to return to his own truths, interests, and servants—in these nations.” (Naphtali, p. 303. Scots Worthies, p. 78.) The only crime for which this distinguished patriot and eminent Christian suffered death was his having accepted of an office under Cromwell.

Before the rising of parliament, which continued sitting till October, the privy council, now consisting partly of prelates, imposed their illegal and arbitrary acts on the nation with a higher hand than even the legislature

itself. In the month of July a great number of ministers were either silenced or banished; and in August, what was called the "Mile Act" was passed, by which all those ministers who refused to submit to their bishops, and yet persisted in preaching or holding conventicles, were prohibited from residing within twenty miles of their parishes, six miles of Edinburgh or any cathedral church, and three miles of any royal burgh. The council also reiterated their order for every individual to attend his own parish church, under a fine of twenty shillings Scots for each Sabbath's absence. (Burnet, vol. i. p. 342.) The levying of these fines was entrusted to the military, who executed their commission without mercy. Having waited in the nearest public house, till near the close of public worship, they surrounded the church and placed sentinels at the doors. The people were made to pass out one by one like so many sheep, and interrogated whether they were parishioners. If they answered in the negative, or remained silent, they were fined on the spot, commonly to the amount of all the money of which they were possessed. Those who had none, or less than the soldiers demanded, were plundered of their

coats, plaids, bibles, &c., and the military returned to their quarters, laden with the spoil. At other times, they entered the churches in the midst of the service, and dragged numbers of the congregation to prison. The council at the same time obliged masters to enter into bonds that their servants should not desert their parish churches, and landlords were held responsible for all that lived on their estates. If any dispute arose respecting the fines, the accused person was obliged to travel from the most distant part of the country, and though found innocent, was often obliged to pay what was called "riding-money" for defraying the travelling expenses of his accuser who accompanied him. To complete the misery of the country, Sir James Turner,* who was entrusted with the command of the forces quartered upon all whom he imagined inimical to the prelates, a company of soldiers, who insolently tyrannized over the helpless people and overspread the country with terror, devastation, and despair. (Burnet, vol. i. p. 355.)

* "Sir James," says the author of the *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*, "was a tool to their minds, a stranger in the country, being an Englishman, bred to plunder and rapine in the service of the French, perfectly void of the fear of God or man, and unacquainted either with religion or humanity."

While the council and the military were employed in entailing ruin upon multitudes by fines, imprisonment or banishment, Sharpe and the other prelates, still unsatisfied, procured the erection of another and still more dreadful engine of oppression. This was the court of high commission, which was formed in the beginning of the year 1664, consisting of nine bishops and thirty-five laymen, who were empowered to suspend or depose churchmen, and to fine or imprison all who should speak or write against prelatical rule. At the head of this iniquitous court—which was little if at all inferior to the popish inquisition—stood the inhuman Sharpe; but were we to give a detail of its lawless and tyrannical proceedings, it would only fill the mind of the reader with horror. Without trial or evidence, or even the shadow of crime, multitudes at the curates' instance were seized by the military, and dragged before this odious tribunal, from which none escaped without punishment; for if no crime could be laid to their charge, the oath of supremacy was tendered, and on their conscientiously scrupling to take it, sentence against them was immediately pronounced. (Apologetical Relation, p. 317. Wodrow, vol.

i. p. 389.) The prisons were consequently filled with Covenanters—many, even children, were sold as slaves to the plantations—not a few were scourged and banished from their native land—and hundreds of families were reduced to beggary by the lawless and profane military; nay, if they found an individual engaged in prayer, he was reviled and dragged before his relentless persecutors. All this was done at the instance, and even in the presence of the curates, who generally accompanied the military in their excursions, and urged them on to the commission of every species of cruelty. To pray for or give the least assistance to the ejected ministers, was a crime unpardonable; and so low did the persecutors stoop, that they ordered the “*Apologetical Relation*,” a work written by Mr. John Brown of Wamphray in favour of the Covenanters, and printed in Holland, to be publicly burned by the hands of the common hangman. This was indeed a time of trial, when “the faithful of the land were swallowed up, and the vilest men exalted.” It is true that the court of high commission survived only about two years, owing to the disgust of the nobility at the insolence and cruelty of the prelates; yet

no benefit resulted to the nation from its dissolution, the conscientious portion of which were as much as ever the objects of clerical revenge. (Crookshank, vol. i. p. 164. Burnet, vol. i. p. 353.)

During the year 1665 these disgraceful and oppressive measures were continued. "The soldiers," says Gabriel Sempil, "drove the ministers out of Galloway and Niddisdale, where the meetings were most frequent. So, many of them came privately to Edinburgh and lurked there, and preached more privately. At which time, soldiers did sadly distress the country where the meetings had been, and those that went not to church, by fining, imprisoning, driving of their cattle, which did much exasperate the people: so that some of them were busy to traffic through their own country, and the west, and other places, for some appearance for their own relief and deliverance from the persecution." (M'Crie's *Memoirs of Veitch, &c.*, p. 380.) The privy council, indeed, of which Sharpe was president, seemed determined to goad the people to rebellion; and had not the Covenanters possessed both principle and patience far above what is attributed to them by even their warmest

friends, and which ought for ever to put to the blush their slanderers in the present day, they would much earlier than they did, have attempted to throw off that cruel yoke which was rapidly reducing the nation to the very worst species of slavery. Would those writers, we may ask, who can so deliberately stigmatize the Covenanters as rebels, fanatics, enthusiasts, or madmen, patiently submit to the hundredth part of the sufferings which they endured, without a complaint? We suspect much that they would be among the very first to raise the cry of *radical reform*. That the Covenanters however had no intention of taking up arms at this time, is evident from the unconcerted commencement and progress of the partial rising which followed, and which had so disastrous a termination at Pentland.

In the spring of 1666, Sir James Turner, by order of the council, marched the third time to the west country, which he rendered, notwithstanding its already impoverished condition, a scene of general devastation.*

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 392.—That Sir James had instructions for carrying these odious and oppressive measures into execution, is evident from various authors as well as from his own words. "I was sufficientlie impoured," says he, "with orders and instructions from my lord

Neither gentlemen, nor peasants, neither old, nor young, were spared. The curates, attended by a number of those armed apostles, imposed the most ruining fines on the landlord for the absence of his tenants, and on the tenants for the absence of their landlord, from the parish church. The widow and the fatherless, the aged and the infirm, were spoiled of their little all to pay these exorbitant fines; nay, the very bread was snatched from the mouths of the hungry children, and thrown to the dogs by the brutal soldiers. The fines thus imposed were employed to raise additional forces, which were put under the command of Thomas Dalzell of Binns, and William Drummond, two unfeeling barbarians; and till the month of November the west country presented a scene of ferocity of which savages themselves might have been ashamed.

On the 13th of that month, four countrymen who had been driven to the mountains by the merciless soldiery, having learned that some of the military were torturing a poor aged man in the village of Dalry, in Gallo-

commissioner, for cessing, quartering on, and fineing persons disobedient to church ordinances." Sir James Turner's Memoirs.

way, repaired to the house, and endeavoured by entreaties to induce the savages to desist from their work of cruelty. Their interference only rendered the soldiers the more fierce, and being attacked by this armed band, they were compelled to stand on their own defence. After a scuffle, the soldiers were overpowered and disarmed; but the victors, aware of the danger to which they were now exposed, endeavoured, not without success, to gain a number of the other Covenanters to support them, in the event of their being attacked by a superior force. The country was soon alarmed; but ere the royalist forces could be collected, the Covenanters, having marched to Dumfries on the 15th, took Sir James Turner prisoner, and dispersed his troops. (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 18.)

No sooner did intelligence of these proceedings reach Edinburgh, than the prelates and council were filled with the greatest alarm, and an express was immediately despatched to London for an additional supply of troops. (Kirkton, p. 232. Burnet, vol. i. p. 395.) In the meantime the council ordered Dalrymple to raise forces, and march to the west country with the utmost expedition; and at the same time they issued a proclamation,

commanding the rebels, as they termed them, to lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners within twenty-four hours. So absurd a proclamation, which required the Covenanters to deliver themselves up to certain death, was, as might have been expected, utterly disregarded; and they immediately proceeded to Lanark, where, being joined by Colonel James Wallace, Mr. John Welsh, and others, they solemnly renewed the covenant.

Before leaving Lanark, the Covenanters published the following interesting "declaration," or manifesto, explicitly stating the grounds on which they had taken up arms: * "The nature of religion doth sufficiently teach, and all men almost acknowledge the lawfulness of sinless self-defence; yet we thought it duty at this time to give an account unto the world of the occasion and design of our being together in arms, since the rise and scope of actions, if faulty, may render a thing right upon the matter, sinful. It is known to all that the king's majesty, at his coronation, did engage to rule the nation

* This important paper proves the truth of all that we have stated concerning the sufferings of the Presbyterians for a series of years.

according to the revealed will of God in Scripture; to prosecute the ends of the national and solemn league and covenants, and fully to establish Presbyterian government, with the directory for worship, and to approve all acts of parliament establishing the same; and thereupon the nobility and others of his subjects, did swear allegiance, and so religion was committed unto him as a matter of trust, secured by most solemn indenture betwixt him and his people. Notwithstanding this, it is soon ordered that the covenant be burnt, the tie of it is declared void and null, and men forced to subscribe a declaration contrary to it; Episcopal government, in its height of tyranny, is established; and men obliged by law, not to plead, witness, or petition against those things; grievous fines, sudden imprisonments, vast quartering of soldiers, and a cruel inquisition by the high commission court, were the reward of all such who could not comply with the government by lordly hierarchy, and abjure their covenant, and prove more monstrous to the wasting their conscience, than nature would have suffered heathens to be. Those things in part have been all Scotland over, but chiefly in the poor country of Galloway at

this day; and, had not God prevented, it should have, in the same measures, undoubtedly befallen the rest of the nation ere long. The just sense whereof made us choose rather to betake ourselves to the fields for self-defence, than to stay at home burdened daily with the calamities of others, and tortured with the fears of our own approaching misery. And considering our engagement to assist and defend all those who entered into this league and covenant with us; and to the end we may be more vigorous in the prosecution of this matter, and all men may know the true state of our cause, we have entered into the solemn league and covenant, and though it be hardly thought of, renewed the same, to the end we may be free of the apostasy of our times, and saved from the cruel usages persons resolved to adhere to this have met with; hoping, that this will wipe off the reproach that is upon our nation, because of the avowed perjury it lies under. And being fully persuaded, that this league, however misrepresented, contains nothing in it sinful before God, derogatory to the king's just authority, the privileges of the parliament, or liberty of the people; but, on the contrary, is the surest bond whereby all

these are secured, since a threefold cord is not easily broken." (Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 25, 26.)

The number of the Covenanters at this period was about three thousand, the utmost they ever reached. Aware of the approach of Dalyell with a considerable force, they resolved to proceed eastward, in the hope of being joined by their friends in Edinburgh and other places. Accordingly, placing themselves under the command of Colonel Wallace, they marched first to Bathgate, through roads almost impassable in consequence of heavy rains, and then to Colinton, about three miles from the metropolis. But so completely was the spirit of the country broken, that after a fatiguing and distressing march, their little army, instead of being increased, was now reduced to between eight and nine hundred men.

The day following their arrival at Colinton, namely, the 27th, they were met by Dalyell, who with the view to a treaty, first promised a cessation of arms till the following morning, and then proceeded to advance towards them, with the intention of surprising and destroying their forces. Alarmed at his approach, Colonel Wallace endeavour-

ed to retreat, but being overtaken at a place called Rullion Green, at Pentland hills, he found it absolutely necessary to stand on his defence. (Wallace's Narrative.) The engagement took place in the afternoon of the 28th, when Wallace twice forced Dalzell's troops to retire in confusion; but, on a third attack, about sun-set, the Covenanters were completely routed, leaving fifty of their number dead on the spot, and a hundred and thirty prisoners in the hands of their tormentors.*

Such was the issue of that unsuccessful effort to emancipate the nation from slavery.

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 396. Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 31. Kirkton, p. 236. Informatory Vindication, p. 3. Hind Let Loose, p. 123.—“I shall only notice,” says Mr. Blackader, “that it was greatly wondered that such a poor inconsiderable party of countrymen, so badly armed as they were, so outwearied with cold, travel, and hunger, should ever have faced such a formidable enemy; they being scarce nine hundred of them who engaged against three thousand horse and foot, beside great multitudes, attendants of noblemen and gentlemen in the country, all well armed with all manner of furniture for war offensive and defensive; and yet not only in the morning, but twice in the afternoon, they faced them, and resolutely fought till they were able to do no more, being oppressed with multitudes. It is not known what number of Dalziel's men fell that day, but these who stood on the hill, when the second party charged the enemy and chased them into the body, some honest men, I say, who stood among the rest and saw it, affirm they saw many empty horse run into the body of Dalziel's army.”—MS. Memoirs.

That effort was then and still is denominated a *rebellion* ; but it is much easier to give it so unfair a designation than to adduce proof that it was so. The Covenanters were not rebels against the king or his authority ; they sought redress only from that oppression by which the prelates had reduced them to the very brink of despair ; and if they were blamable in this rising, it consisted in their too rashly encountering the royal forces before their measures were properly concerted and their numbers increased. “ We leave all those who afterwards thought it lawful to join in the Revolution,” says the author of *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*, “ and in taking arms against the oppressions and arbitrary government of King James, to judge, whether these good men had not the same individual reasons, and more, for this Pentland expedition ; and it is answer enough to all that shall read these sheets to say, that these men died for that lawful resisting of arbitrary power, which has been justified as legal, and acknowledged to be justifiable by the practice and declaration of the respective parliaments of both kingdoms.” *

* The following beautiful lines on this mournful event, are part of a poem entitled “ Pentland Hills,”

An unsuccessful attempt to throw off a tyrannical yoke, in general only rivets it more firmly, as well as aggravates the sufferings of the oppressed. It was so in the which appeared lately in the Edinburgh Evening Post. Though anonymous, they cannot but gratify the reader :

“ Ah ! days by Scotia still deplored,
A faithless king and bigot lord,
Against their subjects drew the sword,
Sent forth their foes malignantly.

Firm in the faith of gospel truth,
Stood hoary age and guileless youth,
Against oppressors void of ruth,
In cold blood killing wantonly.

On yonder heights their blood was shed,
And many a faint and drooping head
Made on the sod its dying bed,
The spirit soaring joyfully.

And those who fled before their foes,
Saw days of darkness round them close ;
But faithful, fearless, midst their woes,
Stood patient in adversity.

Their preachers silenced and deposed,
The house of prayer against them closed,
They on the mountain heath reposed :
But though in great perplexity,

Their harps were not on willows hung,
But still in tune and ready strung,
Till mountain echoes round them rung,
To songs of joyful melody.

Though from their friends and home exiled,
Lone wanderers in the desert wild,
The wilderness around them smiled ;
For Heaven approved their constancy.

present instance. The dastardly Sharpe, who trembled for his life when he heard of the rising, now proceeded to exact a cruel revenge, not only on the prisoners, but on the whole body of the Presbyterians throughout the country. The victory was celebrated with great rejoicing in the capital, to which the prisoners were led in triumph, and thrust into Haddo's Hole, to await whatever sentence their enemies might choose to pronounce.*

Exposed to torture, scorn, and shame,
In sufferings great they overcame ;
And, glorying in a martyr's name,
They met their deaths triumphantly.

Though some have sought their fame to blot,
Their memory ne'er shall be forgot ;
While their oppressors' name shall rot,
Or live to lasting infamy."

* Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 37. Wallace's Narrative. "The prisoners," adds Wallace, "were brought in that night after the defeat by Dalyell's men, having their hearts broken with the reproaches and blasphemies which these jeering atheists spued out against God, godliness, religion, and all fear of God, by the way as they came in, naked, and many bleeding in their wounds. The dead were spoiled of their clothes, and laid naked before the moon by night and the sun by day, by the soldiers and barbarians of Lothian, as if the victory had been gotten over Turks ; but the godly women of Edinburgh came out the morrow with winding sheets and buried them. The town received the prisoners, which the godly people of the town esteemed the saddest sight that ever Edinburgh had seen, and drew tears in abundance from the eyes of all that feared God."

These prisoners having surrendered upon promise of quarter, several of the members of council hinted at the injustice of putting any of them to death. But Sharpe and the prelates, who had written to the king, "that they would prosecute them with all despatch, insisted on making an example of a number of them, to deter others from a like crime. After some debate in the council, the scruples of those who inclined to justice, were completely removed by the following jesuitical reasoning, "That though the prisoners had their lives given them in the field as soldiers, yet this did not prejudice their trial in law as subjects."

On the 4th of December, accordingly, ten of the prisoners, among whom were Major MacCulloch and Captain Arnot, were indicted for high treason, and, as was previously determined on, sentenced to be executed on the 7th, and their heads and right arms to be cut off and disposed of as the council should deem proper. These ten witnesses for the truth, left a joint testimony, from which we shall give the following extract. "We are condemned," say they, "by men, and esteemed by many as rebels against the king (whose authority we acknowledge;)

but this is our rejoicing, the testimony of our conscience, that we suffer not as evil doers, but for righteousness, for the word of God, and testimony of Jesus Christ ; and particularly for our renewing the covenant, and in pursuance thereof, for preserving and defending of ourselves, by arms, against the usurpation and insupportable tyranny of the prelates. The covenant and cause, and the duties of self-preservation, being so just in themselves, we need say the less for vindication of our practice. Only, the laws establishing Prelacy, and the acts, orders, and proclamations, made for compliance therewith, being executed against us by military force and violence ; and we with others, for our simple forbearance, being fined, confined, imprisoned, exiled, scourged, stigmatized, beaten, bound as beasts, and driven into the mountains for our lives ; and thereby hundreds of families being beggared, several parishes and some whole country sides exceedingly impoverished : And all this, either arbitrarily, or without any law, or respect had to guilt or innocency ; or unjustly contrary to all conscience, justice, and reason, and without regard to the penalty specified in the law : And all remonstrances of griev-

ances, and petitions for redress, being constrained by laws condemning all former remonstrances and petitions in the like cases ; there was no other remedy left to us, but that last of necessary self-preservation and defence :” (Naphtali, pp. 308, 309.) Their execution excited a feeling of commiseration among the people, which gave great offence to Sharpe, who determined to compel the next sufferers to confess, right or wrong, that the Pentland rising was not on account of the oppression of the prelates, but a preconcerted and determined act of rebellion.

For this purpose two of those who were indicted to stand trial in a few days afterwards, were singled out as fit objects on which the council might exercise their cruelty. These were John Nielson, of Corsack, and Hugh M’Kail, an amiable young preacher, whom the council ordered to be put to the torture,* in order to extort from them a confession that not prelatic oppression, but a determined spirit of rebellion—as Sharpe had informed the king—had occasioned the late

* In this engine of cruelty, called the *boots*, the leg of the accused was enclosed ; wedges were then driven between its sides and the limb of the poor sufferer, which produced a spectacle to beholders as well as agony to the sufferer, too horrid for description. Burnet, vol. i. p. 399.

rising. Both however, though shrieking with agony, could be forced to declare nothing but the truth, repeatedly affirming—to the confusion of their tormenters, who still called on the executioner to give another stroke—that the cruelties of the prelates alone had forced the people to arm in their own defence. (Kirkton, p. 252.) Mr. Nielson was executed on the 14th, along with John Robertson, a young preacher, and George Crawford, who left their dying testimony against prelacy and firm attachment to the covenants and the work of reformation, rejoicing in the belief that though the adversaries of the church “might be permitted to prevail for a season, yet God would arise and plead the cause which was his own.” (Naphtali, p. 328.) Mr. M’Kail, together with John Wodrow and other four martyrs, was executed on the 22d, all of whom died rejoicing in the Lord. Mr. M’Kail in particular, having addressed to the people a speech and testimony which he had previously written and subscribed, bade adieu to the present, and welcomed the opening glories of a future state, in language truly sublime. “And now,” said he, “I leave off to speak any more to creatures, and turn my speech to

thee, O Lord ! Now I begin my intercourse with God, which shall never be broken off. Farewell father and mother, friends and relations : farewell the world and all delights ; farewell meat and drink ; farewell sun, moon, and stars ; welcome God and Father ; welcome sweet Jesus, mediator of the new covenant ; welcome blessed Spirit of grace and God of all consolation ; welcome glory, welcome eternal life, welcome death.—O Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit ; for thou hast redeemed my soul, Lord God of truth.” (Crookshank, vol. i. p. 197. Naphtali, p. 338. Samson’s Riddle.) While the people deeply lamented the death of this amiable youth and his fellow sufferers, they could not forbear expressing their just indignation at Sharpe and the archbishop of Glasgow, who evidently acted the part of murderers, by concealing from the council, till after their execution, a letter from Charles forbidding the shedding of any more blood ! (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 37. Kirkton, p. 255.)

In addition to those who were executed at Edinburgh, twelve individuals were put to death for the same cause in Ayr, Irvine, and Galloway, at the close of the year 1666 and commencement of 1667 ; but so abhorrent

to the feelings of the people in general were these executions, and so greatly was the public mind in favour of the martyrs, that even the executioner in Irvine, William Sutherland, peremptorily refused to have any hand in their death. In order to check this feeling of commiseration, and prevent the dying testimonies of the martyrs from being heard by the spectators, the contemptible and base practice of beating drums on the scaffold was introduced and continued at almost every subsequent execution.

These executions were not, however, sufficient. In the beginning of 1667, Dalyell was sent to the west country with a considerable number of troops, to execute summary vengeance on the *Whigs*, as the Covenanters were termed. Having fixed his head quarters for some time at Kilmarnock, he fined, tortured, and imprisoned with such ruthless barbarity that the blood is chilled at the bare recital. Murder accompanied by the most appalling cruelty, robberies, and rapes, was openly committed by the brutal soldiery; the jails were so crowded with prisoners, that many of the poor sufferers were suffocated; nay, Dalyell, in the mere wantonness of cruelty, ordered many, upon bare suspicion,

without either trial or evidence, to be either shot or hanged. Sir William Bannatyne, another fiend in human shape, was about the same time sent with a detachment to Galloway, where he pillaged, murdered and tortured with impunity. We shall give one instance only of a multitude of his barbarities related in Naphtali. A poor woman, the wife of David M'Gill, who, naturally enough, had been accessory to her husband's escape from his persecutors, was, by this monster's orders, most inhumanly tortured to death by means of lighted matches bound between her fingers. (Naphtali, p. 373, et seq. History of the Indulgence, p. 14.)

While the west country was thus oppressed, the council, contrary to an act of parliament, resolved to indict for high treason those Covenanters who had sought safety by flight. In the month of August, accordingly, twenty-two of those who were accused of being accessory to the Pentland rising, were tried in their absence, condemned to be executed whenever they should be apprehended, and their estates forfeited. Among these were Colonel Wallace, Major Learmont, Kersland, Barscob, Caldwell, and Quarreltons, with Messrs. John Welsh, Gabriel Semple, John

Guthrie, Alexander Peden, and William Veitch. Shortly afterwards Caldwell's estate was conferred on Dalyell, Kersland's on Drummond, Learmont's on Hamilton of Woolshaw, and Quarrelton's on Hamilton of Hallcraig.*

But dissensions were now beginning to take place in the privy council, Sharpe and the prelates endeavouring to carry their tyrannical measures much further than Lauderdale wished. The bishops proposed, and even wrote to the king, to keep up the standing army, in order to extirpate all the Presbyterians, whom they affirmed to be enemies to monarchy, and to the church established by law. Lauderdale, however, who perceived that the sole aim of the prelates was to enrich themselves with the spoils of the persecuted, prevailed with the king to reduce

* The following account of the number at Pentland, and how they were disposed of, is from the pen of one of the members of council:—"Of the rebels we have comed to this count; 218 have taken the benefit of his Maties gracious pardon; 309 have neglected it; about 89 were killed in the fild; 40 execut; 31 dead in the Stewartry and Dumfrireshyr, we know not what in the rest; 30 are fugitive, and 20 forfawlted; the rest are fled out of the country, or had no constant residence, belonging to other shyr, and ar still vagabonds. Now most conclud, ther wer not 1000 at the fight, and this account is of about 700." Letter from Tweeddale to Lauderdale, dated Feb. 18, 1688, given in Sir James Turner's Memoirs.

the army; and a change of ministry immediately followed. (Burnet, vol. i. p. 403. Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 80.) All this was exceedingly displeasing to the bishops, who resorted to the meanest and most disgraceful plans, in order to prevent the discharge of the military. Nay, Burnet, archbishop of Glasgow, a furious bigot, declared that "when the army was disbanded, the gospel would go out of his diocese." (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 89.) Perceiving their efforts to be unavailing, they insisted that the council should press the oath of supremacy on all who were suspected, under the severest penalties: but the majority of the council, in the month of September, decided on merely requiring what was called a "Bond of Peace" to be taken, which obliged the subscriber not only to keep the public peace himself, but to become responsible for his tenants and servants, under the penalty of a year's income in case of contravention. The ambiguity of this bond, which evidently required an implicit obedience to the prelates, and was consequently opposed to the covenants, together with the suspicion with which every act of council was received by the people, prevented the greater part of the Covenanters from

affixing to it their signatures—more especially as the same rigorous proceedings were continued against conventicles. The council, likewise, requested the king to issue a proclamation of indemnity to all who had been concerned in Pentland rising, excepting those who were forfeited. But this indemnity underwent so many alterations, and was ultimately encumbered with such heavy restrictions, that it became a common remark, “that when it came out, it pardoned all, in the middle very few, and in the end none at all.” (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 92.) The indemnity, however, such as it was, which was published in October, together with the disbanding of the army, restored the country to comparative tranquillity. This deceitful calm was in some measure promoted in consequence of an inquiry which was instituted by the council against the furious persecutors, Turner and Bannatyne: but notwithstanding the proofs adduced of their rapine and cruelty, the former was only dismissed from the service, and the latter banished; while Dalrymple and Drummond, two equally great barbarians, were, as we have already seen, rewarded with the spoils of the forfeited Covenanters. (Kirkton, p. 270.)

While the government held out to the oppressed Presbyterians a prospect of peace, it was evident to every discerning mind, that the present calm would be as temporary as it was delusive. During the year 1668, the same violent proclamations were issued against conventicles, and the same arbitrary punishments inflicted on those who attended them. Few ministers as yet, indeed, preached in the open fields, their meetings being confined to private houses; but these were industriously sought out, and fines and imprisonment awarded to all who countenanced them in the slightest degree.

Amidst these oppressions, a preacher of the name of James Mitchell, resolved to take away the life of Sharpe. He had in his absence been condemned to death without hope of mercy, for his accession to the affair at Pentland, and on that account considered himself at open war with the government, and especially with the traitorous primate, the chief instigator of all the cruelties which were inflicted on the Presbyterians. He accordingly repaired on the 4th of July to the head of Blackfriars' Wynd, Edinburgh, where he patiently waited till the archbishop entered his carriage, when he discharged at

him a loaded pistol, the contents of which missed Sharpe, but were lodged in the arm of the bishop of Orkney.* Such was the detestation in which the primate was held, that Mitchell was allowed to walk quietly away, and though diligent search was made for him by the privy council and magistrates, he was not apprehended till several years afterwards. (Burnet, vol. i. p. 469.) This unhappy affair, which was devised and executed by Mitchell alone, furnished to the prelates a new pretext for oppressing the whole body of the Presbyterians, upon whom the odium of the attempt on the primate's life was most unjustly laid.

Among the sufferers for conscience sake this year, were Messrs. Michael Bruce, Alexander Smith, Thomas Hogg, Thomas Urquhart, John M'Killigen, and John Wilkie. The last mentioned of these ministers, who was very aged, had come to Edinburgh for his health, where, in the month of July, he was seized and brought before a committee of council. Among other ensnaring ques-

* When the alarm was raised that a man was killed, a crowd soon collected; but on learning that "it was only a bishop," the populace speedily dispersed. Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 116.

tions which were put to him, we shall give the following in his own words, as a specimen at once of the jesuitical efforts of the council to lead a man to criminate himself, and of the undaunted and uncompromising spirit of the Covenanters in general :—" My lord advocate asked me if I knew who shot the bishop? I answered that I knew not. He asked me if I knew any of those west country rebels, especially Major Learmont, Barscob, Welsh, &c.? I answered I knew them all; for being my acquaintances they came to visit me on my supposed death-bed.

Q. Do you keep conventicles? *A.* I am not able, by reason of sore and long continued sickness; but I use, when I have health, to exercise in my own family, both Sabbath and week-day. *Q.* What time take you on Sabbath?

A. Betwixt sermons, beginning at half twelve, and continuing so long as I am able. *Q.* Admit you any to your family exercise?

A. I invite none, I debar none.

Q. It seems you are clear to admit any that come? *A.* Yes, my lord, you should be welcome, and the archbishop of St. Andrews should not be debarred. *Q.* Goodsooth, Mr.

Wilkie, you would go four miles about, in that case, to visit a friend? *A.* No, my lord,

I would find him within less than half a mile." When examined before the council itself, he was teased in a similar manner. "My lord chancellor, when he was speaking to me as to the point of preaching, alleged that I was clear to preach in a kirk. I answered, Why not, my lord, I am still a minister, and who has exauctorated me? *Q.* Then I see you are clear to preach upon a call? *A.* Yes, my lord, if the call have a cleanly rise. *Q.* Mark that, a cleanly rise! but what call you a cleanly call for a minister? *A.* My lord, I make the supposition, if your honour invited me to preach in one of your kirks, I being able and qualified for the work, how durst I in conscience refuse, under the pain of that woe, 'Woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel.' What then should hinder me to preach in a kirk? Nay more, my lord, I was this summer at Moffat well, and the chield that is there is run away from them for debt, as I hear, and the place in a manner vacant; if those in power in that place had had courage to have given me a call, I would have taken my venture to have preached. To this not one word was replied." Mr. Wilkie, however, on refusing to subscribe his sentence of banishment, was

committed to prison. (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 113.)

Perceiving that their rigorous proceedings against conventicles only irritated the people, and that the more these meetings were suppressed the more their number increased, the council resolved if possible to divide the Covenanters, by throwing among them, to use the words of Sharpe himself, "a bone of contention." (Wodrow, p. 131.) This was effectually accomplished by procuring from the king, in July, 1669, an *Indulgence* to a limited number of the ejected ministers, permitting them to resume their ministerial functions under certain conditions. If their former charges were supplied, they were to be appointed, after receiving the consent of the patron, and collation from the bishop, to such parish as the privy council should deem proper. But then they were strictly enjoined to keep presbyteries and synods—that is, the diocesan meetings of the prelates, for there were no Presbyterian assemblies; they were forbidden to allow any of the people in other parishes to attend their churches; and they were prohibited from speaking or preaching against ecclesiastical supremacy. The indulgence, in conclusion, enacted still

heavier penalties against conventicles, the suppressing of which was the chief object of government in the whole transaction. (History of the Indulgence, p. 18, et seq. Hind Let Loose, p. 126. Burnet, vol. i. p. 470.)

That many of the Covenanters condemned the indulgence on these terms can be no matter of surprise; the wonder is, how any of them could be induced to accept of what was so opposed to the principles for which they had so long suffered persecution. (See M'Ward's *Επαγωνισμοί*.) Those who rejected the indulgence condemned it, not only on account of its restrictions, but as an assumption of ecclesiastical power, as an encroachment on the liberties of the church, and as a scheme to bring its ministers to a state of base servility to the court; and they also condemned the acts of the privy council which followed, as proceeding upon a dispensing power on the part of the crown. "The sole warrant of the king's letter," says Brown, "cannot in law warrant and empower the council to contravene express laws and acts of parliament, and not only disobey the injunctions of parliament, but in plain terms to counteract and counterwork the established and ratified laws, and so to

render them null and of no effect.—The very embracing of the indulgence was, upon the matter, a recognition of this power in the king to do, in and by his privy council in church matters, what he pleased, even though contrary to antecedent acts of parliament.”

(History of the Indulgence, pp. 51, 53.)

Although, therefore, the liberty which it granted, was nothing more than what they were entitled to, yet many worthy ministers resolved to endure persecution rather than recognise a usurped supremacy, and countenance an illegal exercise of royal authority. (Informatory Vindication, p. 6.) A number of Presbyterian ministers, on the other hand, accepted of it, which they justified on the ground that they had given explanations of it to the council, that they had the consent of the people, and that the necessity of the case required their compliance. Thus were the Presbyterians, according to the prelates' desire, split into two parties—the *indulged* and the *non-indulged*. But though the bishops beheld this division with the greatest satisfaction, they were displeased at the extent of the indulgence; and shortly afterwards procured an act of council refusing to grant any more indulgences to ejected ministers;

while, on the other hand, those who had already accepted of the boon, soon began to experience all the evils of which they were warned by their more conscientious brethren. (Hind Let Loose, p. 127.)

The parliament, after a lapse of eight years, was assembled on the 16th of October, for the purpose of effecting a union between the two kingdoms. This measure being approved of, and the king empowered to nominate commissioners to carry it into effect, the parliament proceeded to pass several acts deeply affecting the Covenanters, to two of which it will be necessary briefly to advert. The first of these was an act establishing the king's supremacy, in which it was declared, "That his majesty hath the supreme authority and supremacy over all persons and in all causes ecclesiastical within this kingdom: and that by virtue thereof, the ordering and disposal of the external government and policy of the church doth properly belong to his majesty and his successors, as an inherent right to the crown; and that his majesty and his successors may settle, enact, and emit such constitutions, acts, and orders concerning the administration of the external government of the church, and the persons

employed in the same, and concerning all ecclesiastical meetings and matters to be proposed and determined therein, as they, in their royal wisdom, shall think fit." This act, which placed in the hands of the sovereign a power so absolute, that at his pleasure he could alter or abolish the religion of a whole nation, is one of the most disgraceful and unhallowed statutes that was ever passed in any legislative assembly. Charles was now, to all intents and purposes, a "royal pope," whose authoritative mandates were sufficient to control the consciences of his subjects. But there seems to have been another reason for the passing of this extraordinary statute. The Duke of York, who was heir apparent to the throne, was a professed papist;* and Lauderdale, by thus placing the Scottish church entirely in the sovereign's power, paved the way for his own advancement, on the ruin of his country and of the Protestant faith.†

* Charles himself had renounced the Protestant religion and embraced the popish faith.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 481.—Lauderdale's former attachment to the covenant was evidently from motives as selfish as they were hypocritical. Ambition alone influenced him first in his adherence to the Presbyterians, and ultimately in his defence of tyranny. "His temper," says Laing, "was dark and vindictive, incapable

The other act referred to the militia, by which "the power of arming the subjects and raising them in arms" was also declared "to be an inherent right of the crown." Previous to this period the council had formed a regular standing force, which the parliament now ordered to be kept up and properly trained, and, under the council's direction, "to be ready to march to any part of his majesty's dominions, for any cause in which his majesty's authority, power, or greatness, should be concerned." Thus were both the religious and civil liberties of the nation laid prostrate at the feet of the sovereign; the legislature itself sanctioning the upholding of a lawless military band to rob and oppress their unoffending countrymen. (Kirkton, p. 291, et seq. Burnet, vol. i. p. 484. Hist. of Indulgence, p. 47.)

Previous to the rising of parliament, which took place on the 23d of December, the of friendship, mean and abject to his superiors, haughty and tyrannical to his inferiors; and his judgment, seldom correct or just, was obstinate in error, and irreclaimable by advice. His passions were furious and ungovernable, unless when his interest or his ambition interposed. His violence was ever prepared to suggest or to execute the most desperate counsels; this ready compliance preserved his credit with the king, till his faculties were visibly impaired with age." Hist., vol. ii. p. 32.

utmost diligence had been employed by the council in endeavouring to suppress conventicles; but it was not till 1670 that enactments the most sanguinary and revolting were made against these obnoxious meetings. Instructions were given to the military, as early as the month of January, to use every effort to seize those ministers who preached at conventicles, and to send them prisoners to Edinburgh. They were also to compel the heritors and tenants who were present at these meetings to give caution that they would appear before the council on a day appointed, which, if refused, they were to be lodged in jail. These severe instructions being followed to the very letter by the military, the Covenanters were forced to abandon their usual places of meeting and resort to the open fields; and being still in danger from their persecutors, several of them carried with them the arms which they usually wore, to defend themselves and their minister in case of an attack. Severe proclamations against these assemblies followed, which were enforced by summary imprisonment, or the most ruining fines. A committee was, at the same time, sent to the west country for the purpose of more effec-

tually executing the laws against conventicles, with full powers to punish all whom they suspected of favouring such proscribed meetings. (Burnet, vol. i. p. 487.)

Amidst these severities against the Covenanters, the parliament met again in July, for the purpose of promoting the projected union with England. But while this measure came to nothing, new enactments were framed by this session in favour of Prelacy, and against the ejected ministers and their adherents. One of these statutes, compelled every subject, "of whatsoever degree, sex, or quality," who should be called before the council, or any other having commission from his majesty, to depone upon oath all they knew concerning conventicles and unlawful meetings, under the penalty of "fining, imprisonment, or banishment." This act was exceedingly base, constituting as it did, every officer, nay, every private soldier, an inquisitor, and compelling their nearest relatives to become informers and swear against each other: but the next is so inhuman as to divest its framers of all claim to the Christian name. "Forasmuch," says the statute, "as the assembling and convocating of his majesty's subjects without his majesty's war-

rant and authority, is a most dangerous and unlawful practice, &c.—his majesty, with advice and consent of his estates of parliament, hath thought fit to statute and enact: That no outed ministers, who are not licensed by the council, and no other persons not authorized or tolerated by the bishop of the diocese, presume to preach, expound Scripture, or pray in any meeting, except in their own house, and to those of their own family; and that none be present at any meeting except the family to which they belong.” This scandalous prohibition of any minister even in *praying* in any house except his own, was followed up by the penalty, “that he shall be seized upon and imprisoned, till he find caution, under the pain of five thousand merks, not to do the like thereafter, or else enact himself to remove out of the kingdom, never to return without his majesty’s license:” and the fines of such as were present at the meetings, being greatly increased, were proportioned to the wealth of the offender. But the most atrocious clause of this act follows:—“Whosoever, without license and authority foresaid, shall preach, expound Scripture, or pray at any of those meetings in the fields, or in

any house where there may be more persons than the house contains, so as some of them be without doors (which is hereby declared to be a field conventicle,) or who shall convocate any number of people to these meetings, shall be punished with death and confiscation of their goods." Here a meeting in a private house, if two or three be without the door, is reckoned a field conventicle, though they should be met for prayer only, and *death* is the penalty of "obeying God rather than man." "And," proceeds this bloody law, "any of his majesty's good subjects who shall seize and secure the persons of any who shall either preach or pray at these field meetings—shall have five hundred merks for each; and they are hereby indemnified for any slaughter that shall be committed in the apprehending and securing of them." As to the hearers, the fines for their attending house conventicles were doubled, and all these fines, except such as were exacted from heritors, were to be the reward of sheriffs and others who were diligent in this work. "All is shut up," to use the words of Wodrow, "with the parliament's hopes, that this act would do the business of the Presbyte-

rians, either kill them or convert them in three years' time, and so it was made only for that space ; and the king is empowered to protract and lengthen it out as he pleaseth." (Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 169, 173. Burnet, vol i. p. 496.)

Having passed an act against disorderly baptism, the parliament proceeded to frame a severe statute against separation, annexing heavy fines "on the subjects of the reformed religion," who refused to attend their own parish churches, but, with the greatest consistency, exempting papists from all these penalties. (Burnet, vol. i. p. 495.) And thus was laid, by this parliament, the foundation of all that oppression, rapine, and bloodshed, under which the nation groaned for many years afterwards.

Notwithstanding these cruel acts, field conventicles rapidly increased. At Beath in Fife, Torwood in Stirlingshire, and Carnwath in Lanarkshire, large meetings of the Covenanters were held in the open fields, where the communion was celebrated in the most solemn manner.* These meetings not

* The meeting at Beath, which was the largest of these three, was the first armed conventicle, the persecution being so hot, that it became necessary to provide weapons of defence. At this meeting a lieutenant on horseback created some disturbance, but after being

only gave new life to the friends of reformation, proving to thousands “a time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord;” but were the means of checking immorality, and of bringing many to a saving acquaintance with the truth as it is in Christ. “Then had we such humiliation days for personal and public defections,” says Shields, “such communion days even in the open fields, and such Sabbath solemnities, that the places where they were kept might have been called Bethel, or Jehovah-shammah; wherein many were truly converted, more convinced, and generally all reformed from their former immoralities; that even robbers thieves, and profane men, were some of them brought to a saving subjection to Christ, and generally under such restraint, that all the severities of heading, hanging, &c., in a great many years, could not make such a civil reformation, as in a few days of the gospel, in these formerly the devil’s territories, now Christ’s quarters, where his kingly standard was displayed.” (*Hind Let Loose*, p. 132.)

threatened by some of the hearers, he was suffered to depart, upon the interposition of Mr. Blackader the minister, who then continued the work of the day without further molestation.—*Blackader’s Memoirs*, 159.

The increase of conventicles, and the consequent desertion of the people from the worthless curates, raised the indignation of the council and prelates to the highest pitch, and the military received renewed and peremptory injunctions to apprehend either ministers or hearers who had thus dared to disobey the mandates of the court. A number of ministers and gentlemen were accordingly seized and thrown into prison, multitudes, among whom were several ladies, were fined in exorbitant sums, and not a few were transported to the plantations. Messrs. James Hamilton, James Mitchel, James Porter, John Dickson, and John Blackader, knowing the sentence which awaited them, refused to obey the council's citation, when summoned to appear before them for holding conventicles, and were consequently outlawed. (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 153.)

Nor were the indulged altogether suffered to escape. They were at first harassed by the curates, and then prohibited by act of council from lecturing on any portion of Scripture, under the penalty of being ejected from their churches. These and other hardships obliged several of the indulged minis-

ters to abandon their charges, and join with those who had steadily adhered to their original principles. (Crookshank, vol. i. p. 219.)

An effort which was made by Leighton, who was now archbishop of Glasgow, to effect a union between Episcopacy and Presbytery, proved, as might have been expected, utterly abortive ; the indulged ministers, who, in general were faithful to their principles, shackled as they were by their situation, refusing to concur in a scheme which would ultimately have ended in the utter ruin of presbytery. That Leighton—who was an exception to all the other prelates in Scotland—was sincere in his wishes to promote peace is evident ; but Sharpe and his brethren desired no reconciliation, and therefore beheld the failure of Leighton's attempt with the greatest satisfaction, *their* object being, not the union of Prelacy with Presbytery, but the complete destruction of the latter. (Burnet, vol. i. p. 505.)

CHAPTER VII.

Renewed efforts of the council to suppress conventicles—parliament—act in favour of Episcopacy—second Indulgence—the refusers of it are persecuted—John Burnet's reasons for rejecting it—sufferings of Mr. Blain—severity against the Covenanters—apprehension of James Mitchell—the communion celebrated in the fields at East Nisbet—disgraceful proceedings of the council—petition in favour of the ejected ministers presented by females—beneficial effects of field preaching—private houses garrisoned—barbarous attack on the castle of Lord Cardross—letters of intercommuning—increase of conventicles—one at Lillies-Leaf—committee for public affairs—infamous conduct of Carstairs in the case of Mr. Kirkton—persecution of Baillie of Jerviswood—prisoners in Stirling given to the French—sufferings of the indulged—remonstrance of Mr. Wylie.

DURING the year 1671 the persecution against the ejected ministers and their adherents, continued with very little abatement. Few comparatively indeed, were apprehended; but the fines which were imposed on the country for non-conformity were almost incredible. Many in opulent circumstances were almost completely ruined; an instance of which we have in the case of M^cCartney of Blacket, who was neither at Pentland nor among the number of those that were forfeited, but who was thrown into prison, and though declared innocent by the council, kept in confinement during a period of six years, and subjected to losses amounting to

about £1000. The increase of conventicles at this period was extremely galling to the bishops, who beheld the greater part of the churches in their dioceses deserted; but though a committee was appointed to devise other measures for their suppression, little further appears to have been done in the business at that time. "In short," says Wodrow, "the outed ministers preached as they had opportunity, and notwithstanding all the severe acts made last year, neither ministers nor people were much discouraged." (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 186.) On the other hand, the restrictions which had already been imposed on the indulged ministers were greatly increased. By an act of council, all those who refused to concur with the bishops in attending their diocesan meetings were confined to their respective parishes; and so rigorously was this act enforced, that Mr. John Bell, minister at Ardrossan, durst not visit his dying father, though within a mile of him, without a special order from the council. Their refusing to keep the 29th of May according to law,* and their continuing

* "When the day for their week-day's sermons happened at that time, they preached; and it was alleged some of them appointed their sermons that day of the

to explain the Scriptures by "lecturing" were also offences, for which many of them were exposed to much suffering. "Being informed," say the council in an act dated July 6, "that the ministers allowed to preach do not keep the council's act anent lecturing, the sheriffs are ordered to take trial thereof, and send in the names of such as contravene to the council."

The house of Mr. Ramsay, the Episcopal incumbent of Auchinleck having been broken into by some thieves in the beginning of 1672, the council seizing the opportunity, determined most unjustly to execute vengeance on all the Presbyterians in that district. For this purpose, the council, on the 23d of January, granted a commission "to some officers of the army in that neighbourhood to hold courts, call witnesses, and examine into the affair, and to fine the absent heritors in two hundred pounds, tenants in forty pounds, and cottars in ten pounds, and each woman according to the quality of her

week upon which the 29th day of May was to fall to avoid trouble; others had diets of examination that day; and others chose to baptize children, or marry some of their people that day, and explained some portion of Scripture to their hearers. Great clamour was raised against them for not keeping the day in terms of law." —Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 184.

husband, dead or alive.” (Crookshank, vol. i. p. 257.) While these unconstitutional proceedings were carrying on in the parish of Auchinleck, the persecution against the preachers and hearers at conventicles became more severe. Several of these proscribed meetings having been kept in Glasgow, the council, on the 22d of February, ordered the magistrates of that city to suppress them, and to compel all the ejected ministers within their jurisdiction either to attend the church, or leave the place with their families. A similar order was given shortly afterwards to the magistrates of Edinburgh; and followed up by a severity which subjected to the greatest distress many against whom no charge could be exhibited, except their refusing to hear the curates. * The fines too which were exacted from all ranks simply for endeavouring to hear the gospel preached in purity, were so oppressive,* that many gen-

* “The case of the Laird of Balhousie in Perthshire, afterwards Viscount of Duplin, a youth newly passed the schools, but of a good estate, made a great deal of noise. The gentleman confessed he had once heard a minister, whom he entertained as a chaplain in his family, preach. His fine was some odd way or other accumulated to twenty-thousand merks, and then was brought down to a thousand pounds sterling, five hundred of which he behoved to pay presently, which he did, and gave bond for the other half.”—Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 193.

tlemen abandoned their whole estates to their lawless and avaricious persecutors, and sought refuge in exile.

In this deplorable state of the country the parliament was assembled on the 16th of June, but instead of affording relief, that assembly only increased the miseries of the nation. Their first act, which excluded all but Episcopalians from being officers in the army, manifested the deep-rooted aversion of the government to Presbyterianism. Having thus commenced, the parliament proceeded to enact, that none should presume to ordain any individual to the ministry except those who were authorized by law; and that all *pretended* ordinations since 1661, were null and void. The contraveners of this statute were to be imprisoned or banished at the discretion of the council. By another act it was ordained, "That every person who wants a certificate from the minister of the parish where he lives, that his child was baptized within thirty days of its birth, shall be fined, heritors in a fourth part of their yearly valued rent, merchants in one hundred pounds Scots," &c. And by a third act, it was impiously decreed that the 29th of May should be kept holy "by ringing of bells and other

evidences of joy, with bonfires at night, &c. and that all ministers should preach and give thanks" on that day, under a penalty to be imposed by the council. Such were some of the statutes enacted by a Scottish legislature against their conscientious countrymen, who even on mountains or in woods were not permitted to worship the God of their fathers, unless at the peril of their lives—the sanguinary law against conventicles passed in 1670, being ordered to continue in force three years after the former limited period had expired. That law, however, was found by this parliament to stand in need of some explanations. But these explanations only render the framers of such an infamous statute still more contemptible. "Considering," say they, "that by the said act against conventicles, it is statute that no outed minister not licensed by his majesty's council, nor other person not authorized or tolerated by the bishop of the diocese, presume to preach, expound Scripture, or pray in any meeting, except in their own houses, and to those of their own family; and since there may be some questions and doubts concerning the meaning and extent of that word *Pray*, his majesty doth, with advice and consent of his

estates of parliament, declare that it is not to be understood, as if thereby prayer in families were discharged by the persons of the family, and such as shall be present, not exceeding the number of four persons besides those of the family; it is always declared, that the act doth not give allowance to any outed minister to pray in families, except in the parishes where they be allowed to preach." (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 200.) How disgraceful for any parliament to pass an act which they are compelled afterwards to vindicate from being construed into a prohibition of family worship! Yet even in their explanation, if more than *four* persons are present not belonging to the family, this duty must not be performed. The last clause which we have quoted, deserves to have been the enactment of an infidel legislature only; for while the indulged are prohibited from praying in any families but those of their own congregation, the ejected ministers are—if words have any meaning—forbidden, under a penalty, to pray at all, even in their own families!

The increase of conventicles—notwithstanding the statutes enacted against them by parliament, the vigilance of the military,

and the punishments inflicted by the council on all who fell into their hands—induced the government to grant a second indulgence, by which an additional number of the ejected ministers were permitted to preach on certain conditions, one of which was, that they should be confined like galley slaves within their parishes. “The project I laid before Lauderdale,” says Burnet, “was that of putting all the outed ministers by couples into parishes: so that instead of wandering about the country to hold conventicles in all places, they might be fixed to a certain abode, and every one might have the half of a benefice. Leighton was of the same mind, who compared this to the gathering of coals that were scattered over the house, setting it all on fire, into the chimney, whereby they might burn away safely.” (Burnet, vol. ii. p. 582.) The indulgence was accordingly published on the 3d of September, by which about eighty ministers were appointed by pairs to parishes, with injunctions that they should neither marry nor baptize any, except their own parishioners; that they should all celebrate the communion on one day; and that they should remain within, and depart not forth of the parish to which they were

confined, without license from the bishop of the diocese." (Hist. of Indulgence, p. 183. Hind Let Loose, p. 126.) In short, "they were allowed to preach, but neither to preach nor profess Presbyterian principles." (McWard's Banders Disbanded, p. 32.)

A considerable number of those ministers who were named by the council, accepted of the appointments, or rather the confinement to which they were destined. They were, in general, excellent men; but by this acceptance it is evident that they so far at least departed from their original principles as Covenanters. The efforts of Wodrow, therefore, to show that by their acceptance of the indulgence, they, and not the non-indulged, were the only friends of union, are quite unsupported by evidence—the very intention of the government being to create a division between what they called the "madcap," or strict Covenanters, and the "moderate," or those who were willing to acquiesce in the measures of the court; "yea," says Wodrow himself, "there seems in the frame of these acts to be room left by the framers for blowing at the fire of division among Presbyterians, by which the designs of their enemies were mightily carried on." (Wodrow,

vol. ii. p. 203. M'Ward's *Επαγωνισμοί*, p. 136.) The indulged, besides, according to that author's own admission, were constrained to conceal the truth, lest they should be called to account; while the indulgence itself, being a device of the court to ruin presbytery, and to involve all the conscientious Covenanters in the crime of perjury and unfaithfulness, we must say, that not those who refused—though in some points they perhaps carried matters too far—but those who accepted of this unhallowed indulgence, were guilty of the crime of schism.

The great number of those who refused to accept of the indulgence, for reasons which they drew up under the title of "grievances," so enraged the council, that they resolved to force them to their confinements in the respective parishes to which they were appointed. Accordingly, on the 12th of March 1673, ten of those who declined the proffered boon, were summoned before the council, when, instead of their reasons being listened to, they were all peremptorily commanded to enter their confinements by the 1st of June, under pain of being apprehended as despisers of his majesty's authority. A similar notice was given to all the other ministers who had

not accepted of the indulgence, which, if they disobeyed, the military, sheriffs, and magistrates were commanded to apprehend them wherever they could be found.

Among those who decidedly refused the indulgence was Mr. John Burnet, who, at the restoration, was minister of Kilbride, in Lanarkshire, but ejected by the Glasgow act in 1662. Being unable from sickness to appear before the council when cited, to give his reasons for refusing it, he forwarded them in writing. "As to the reasons of my non-acceptance of the present offer," said he, "and not repairing to the place designed by the council, they are, That our Lord Jesus Christ hath committed all ministerial authority for the government of his house, to his own church officers, as the first proper subject and receptacle thereof, John xx. 21, &c. But so it is, that the act explanatory of his majesty's supremacy in the church (whereupon the act of indulgence is grounded,) doth not only claim the power to belong of right to his majesty and his successors, as an inherent privilege of the crown, but doth actually also invest and clothe him with the formal exercise thereof in his own person. Although I do freely disallow and condemn all tumultu-

ary and seditious meetings, yet I am so convinced in my heart of the Lord's blessing attending the preaching of the gospel (though not in a public parish church,) as that I judge the narrative of the first act to go near to involve my acceptance of this indulgence, being an interpretative condemning of the said meetings. There is a standing relation betwixt me and another flock, over which I was set by the appointment of Christ, which can never really be dissolved by any other power than that which at first did make it up, and gave it a being. Besides, how can I preach the word of the Lord freely and boldly against the sins of the times, (as against profaneness, error, injustice, and oppression,) as ministers ought impartially to do, while I am kept under a perpetual check of the sword of the magistrate at my throat?" (Hist. of the Indulgence, p. 68, et seq. Scots Worthies, p. 128.)

Nor were those who did accept of the indulgence suffered to exercise the office of the ministry in peace. For refusing to keep the 29th of May according to the set form required by law, the greater part of the indulged ministers were summoned to Edin-

burgh in the month of July, and fined in the one half of the current year's stipend. One of them, Mr. Alexander Blair of Galstoun, endeavoured to vindicate to the council his own conduct and that of his brethren, in declining to act agreeably to the set form of instructions which they received. "My Lord Chancellor," said he, "I cannot be so uncivil as to refuse a paper offered me by your lordships, but I can receive no instructions from you for regulating the exercise of my ministry; for if I should receive instructions from you, I should be your ambassador." These words being considered "a public disowning the king's and council's power and authority," Mr. Blair was ordered to be carried to prison. Shortly afterwards he gave in a petition to the council, desiring that he might be liberated, signifying that he was informed that they had blamed him for not giving them that deference which he ought to have done; and requesting that if he had mistaken in style and form, they might impute it to his being unaccustomed to speak before such a judicatory; but that "he could not recede from the matter he had spoken." This petition was of course rejected; and in three

months afterwards Mr. Blair expired. (History of the Indulgence, p. 226. Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 216, 217.)

But while this second indulgence entailed hardships on the accepters of it which they were scarcely able to bear, it involved their brethren who conscientiously rejected it, in the greatest distress. A new proclamation was emitted on the 2d April, "commanding "all heritors, wadsetters, and liferenters to bear down conventicles," and to give a faithful account to the sheriffs and military of all who were present at any of these meetings. An edict was also issued against those who refused to accept of the indulgence, ordering them "to be denounced," and granting warrant for their apprehension. In consequence of these severe enactments, Messrs. Robert Gillespie and Alexander Peden were apprehended, and, upon acknowledging that they had kept conventicles, were sent prisoners to the Bass.* Mr. Andrew Wedderburn was imprisoned for admitting more than those resident in his own house to his family exercises, and many private Christians shared a similar fate, for refusing to attend

* A high barren rock at the mouth of the Frith, off the coast of East Lothian.

the harangues of the curates. The fines in particular which were imposed on those who were present at, or in the smallest degree countenanced, conventicles, nay, who did not inform against them were most oppressive. As a specimen of these exactions, eleven gentlemen in the small county of Renfrew were fined in the enormous sum of £368,031, 13s. 4d. Scots, or upwards of £30,000 Sterling.*

Mr. James Mitchell, who attempted to assassinate Sharpe in 1668, was seized in the month of January, 1674, and committed to prison. As no evidence could be adduced to

* Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 226. The following is a list of the eleven referred to above, who were by no means the most opulent, and whose fines, notwithstanding their amount, were only a composition ! they being unable to pay more :—

Sir George Maxwell of Newark, for three years' absence from his parish church, £31,200; for a weekly conventicle during that time, £62,400; for three disorderly baptisms, £1200	£94,800 0 0
The Laird of Duchal, now Porterfields, for the like atrocious crime	84,400 0 0
William Cunningham of Carncurran	15,833 6 8
John Maxwell of Dargavel	18,900 0 0
John Brisbane of Freeland	3,900 0 0
Gavin Walkinshaw of that ilk	12,429 0 0
Sir John Maxwell of Nether Pollock	93,600 0 0
Matthew Stewart in Mearns	6,399 0 0
John Pollock of Falside	3,510 0 0
James Hamilton of Langtoun	18,427 0 0
James Pollock of Balgray	15,833 6 8

£368,031 13 4

criminate him, Sharpe solemnly swore that he would obtain a pardon for him if he would confess. At his examination before the council, the commissioner, the chancellor, the lord advocate, and other members, having implicitly promised that his life would be spared, if he made an ingenuous confession, Mitchell acknowledged that he was the individual who fired the pistol, but that no other person was privy to his design. He was then indicted before the court of justiciary; but being advised not to trust too much to the assurances of the council, who had already given orders to punish him with the loss of his right hand and forfeiture of his estate, he there retracted his confession. There being no other proof which could be brought forward, he was remitted to prison; but as it was not till 1678 that he was executed, we shall defer mentioning further particulars concerning his trial and condemnation till we arrive at the history of that year's proceedings.

Towards the close of 1673, bitter animosities began to arise between Lauderdale and Hamilton, and their respective adherents, which daily increased till Lauderdale's arbitrary adjournment of parliament in the be-

ginning of 1674, when both parties repaired to London to lay their complaints before the king. (Burnet's Hist., vol. ii. p. 631.) These contentions were in some measure beneficial to the Presbyterians, who enjoyed a temporary mitigation of their sufferings, which they improved with the greatest diligence. In almost every shire throughout the country conventicles were set up and attended regularly every Sabbath by thousands. At these meetings "many souls," says Wodrow, "were converted and edified, and not a few who had been profane and indifferent, and well enough satisfied with the incumbents, left them." (Hist., vol. ii. p. 234.) The ministers were zealous, faithful, and persevering in the work, and on the hill sides and in sequestered valleys, not only was the gospel of salvation proclaimed to multitudes of perishing souls, but the Lord's supper was dispensed with as much regularity and solemnity as if there had been no persecutors in the land. "From Saturday morning, when the work began," says Mr. Blackader, in giving an account of a communion held at East Nisbet, in the Merse, "until Monday afternoon we suffered not the least affront or molestation from enemies, which

appeared wonderful. At first there was some apprehension; but the people sat undisturbed, and the whole was closed in as orderly a way as it had been in the time of Scotland's brightest noon. And truly the spectacle of so many grave, composed, and devout faces, must have struck the adversaries with awe, and been more formidable than any outward ability of fierce looks and warlike array. We desired not the countenance of earthly kings; there was a spiritual and divine majesty shining on the work, and sensible evidence that the great Master of assemblies was present in the midst. It was indeed the doing of the Lord, who covered us a table in the wilderness, in presence of our foes, and reared a pillar of glory between us and the enemy, like the fiery cloud of old that separated between the camp of Israel and the Egyptians, encouraging to the one, but dark and terrible to the other. Though our vows were not offered within the courts of God's house, they wanted not sincerity of heart, which is better than the reverence of sanctuaries. Amidst the lonely mountains, we remembered the words of our Lord, that true worship was not peculiar to Jerusalem or Samaria; that the beau-

ty of holiness consisted not in consecrated buildings, or material temples. The tables were served by some gentlemen and persons of the gravest deportment. None were admitted without tokens, as usual, which were distributed on the Saturday, but only to such as were known to some of the ministers, or persons of trust, to be free of public scandals. All the regular forms were gone through; the communicants entered at one end, and retired at the other—a way being kept clear to take their seats again on the hill-side. Mr. Welsh preached the action sermon, and served the first two tables, as he was ordinarily put to do on such occasions: the other four ministers, Mr. Blackader, Mr. Dickson, Mr. Riddel, and Mr. Rae, exhorted the rest in their turn; the table service was closed by Mr. Welsh with solemn thanksgiving; and solemn it was, and sweet and edifying to see the gravity and composure of all present, as well as all parts of the service. The communion was peaceably concluded, all the people heartily offering up their gratitude, and singing with a joyful noise to the rock of their salvation. It was pleasant, as the night fell, to hear their melody swelling in full unison along the hill, the whole congre-

gation joining with one accord, and praising God with the voice of psalms. There were two long tables, and one short across the head, with seats on each side. About a hundred sat at every table ; there were sixteen tables in all, so that about three thousand two hundred communicated that day.” (Blackader’s *Memoirs*, pp. 203—206. *Hind Let Loose*, p. 133.)

Among the ministers who thus cheerfully adventured their lives for the everlasting benefit of their countrymen, were Messrs Gabriel Semple, John Welsh, Thomas Hogg, John Blackader, George Johnston, Robert Lockhart, John Weir, Samuel Arnot, Patrick Gillespie, John Rae, David Williamson, Archibald Riddel, and Donald Cargill. But we must pass a host of names who equally deserve to be recorded in the page of history, and to whose fearless defence of Presbyterian principles we are so much indebted at the present day. Mr. Welsh, in particular, preached with great success in various parts of Fife ;* Mr. Weir ventured to preach

* One Sabbath that Mr. Welsh preached in Fife, other three field meetings were held within that county on the same day, at which it is calculated upwards of sixteen thousand individuals were assembled. The following interesting account of an attack on one of these conventi-

in the Magdalene Chapel, Edinburgh, and Crammond, and other vacant churches, were often occupied by ejected ministers.

These daring infringements of the law were highly resented by the council, who issued proclamation after proclamation against the offenders, offering large sums for the apprehension of the preachers, and exacting ruinous fines from the heritors and hearers. Masters of families were made responsible for their servants, heritors for their tenants, and magistrates for the burghs over which they were placed, that none under their jurisdiction should attend these proscribed meet-

cles which was held by Mr. Wellwood on the Lomond hills, is given in Blackader's Memoirs. "A party of life-guards, commanded by Adam Masterton, younger of Grange, came to the foot of the hill. They essayed to ride up to them between sermons; but the people drew up on the face of the brae. The soldiers shot bullets among them from pistols or carbines, a volley of five or six times; but though the balls lighted among men, women, and children, and went through some of their hair, and brake upon stones beside them, yet they hurt none; which was wonderful. The soldiers, seeing the people stand their ground, and not stir, were forced to retire. Some of their horses being hurt with the stones that were cast down the hill, they made signal to the people to capitulate or dismiss—and had a conference to that effect. They replied, they intended to stay no longer than worship was ended, but that they would not leave the hill until they had security to get no harm: which they did promise. Yet when the bulk of the people were gone, the soldiers fell upon the hindermost, plundering and stripping them, and apprehending about eighteen prisoners."—p. 184.

ings; nay, multitudes were declared rebels for preaching, or being present at assemblies unauthorized by law. The privy council, in short, among whom a change had taken place, seemed determined to gain the applause of his majesty by their cruel and relentless severities on all who countenanced house or field conventicles.

But while we forbear entering into any further detail of the council's proceedings at present, we cannot omit taking notice of a petition presented to them in the Parliament-Close, in the month of June, by fifteen ministers' widows, supported by several hundred women. The petitioners plead, "That whereas your petitoners being long deprived of the blessing of a faithful public ministry, and of the purity of worship and ordinances that God hath commanded, and after much sad suffering for attendance thereupon in private; yet, for some short while bygone, and in the time when his majesty's commissioner was amongst us, your lordships' petitioners have, without molestation, enjoyed some small liberty by his majesty's gracious connivance; yet now we are sadly alarmed, that through the malicious and false information given in by some of those who side with

and serve the bishops, your lordships may be induced, to the grief of the hearts of many thousands in this land, to trouble the quiet meetings of the Lord's people at his worship. May it therefore please your lordships to grant such liberty to our honest ministers that are through the land and in this city, that they may lawfully, and without molestation, exercise, their holy function, as the people shall in an orderly way call them; that we may, to the comfort of our souls, enjoy the rich blessings of faithful pastors, and that our pastors may be delivered from any sinful compliance with what is contrary to the known judgment of honest Presbyterians." This petition was voted seditious and treasonable, the subscribers were taken into custody, and the magistrates were ordered to disperse the rest; but the absolute refusal of the other females to dismiss without their companions induced the council to liberate the prisoners. Next day, however, three of the subscribers were seized and imprisoned, and the rest denounced rebels.*

* Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 268, 269 Kirkton, p. 345.—
"Also this summer," says the last mentioned of these authors, "because men durst not, the women of Edinburgh would need appear in a petition to the council, wherein they desired a gospel ministry might be pro-

The oppressions of the Covenanters were increased rather than diminished during the year 1675. Notwithstanding the cruelty of the persecutors, however, and the sufferings of the persecuted, conventicles were multiplied in every part of the country. Thousands "took joyfully the spoiling of their goods" that they might enjoy divine ordinances in purity; nay, many of the indulged ministers, unable longer to endure the bondages under which their consciences were held by an anti-christian faction, abandoned their livings, and joined their brethren, who had no other pulpit but the natural rock, and no other covering than the canopy of heaven. "It must be owned, even by adversaries," says Wodrow, "that much success, and many remarkable, yea, extraordinary conversions and changes, did accompany the labours of Presbyterian ministers at this time vided for the starving congregations of Scotland. Fifteen of them, most part ministers' widows, engaged to present so many copies to the principal lords of council, and upon the 4th of June filled the whole Parliament-Close. When the chancellor came up, Sharpe came up with him, and as the chancellor left his coach, Sharpe clapt close to his back, fearing, it may be, bodily harm, which he then escaped; only some of them reproached him, calling him Judas and traitor, and one of them laid her hand upon his neck, and told him that neck must pay for it ere all was done, and in that guessed right; but this was all he suffered at that time."

up and down the country. Many were pricked at the heart, and cried out, ‘Men and brethren, what shall we do to be saved?’ And their after practice evidenced their repentance was not to be repented of; and the Lord gave testimony to the word of his grace. Now and then conforming ministers came, and, after the forenoon’s sermon, offered themselves, and as circumstances allowed, actually did profess their sorrow for joining in the present course of defection. In several places they forsook their churches, changed their way, and upon their candid acknowledgments, were received by the ministers preaching in the fields, and were as welcome to the people as any.” (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 279.)

The number of conventicles throughout the country rendered it next to impossible to suppress them, at least so speedily as the Prelates desired. Another method, therefore, as unjustifiable as it was base, was resorted to. *Spies* were employed, who mingled with the congregations, and, while they marked their victims, often endeavoured to urge the Covenanters, under pretence of zeal for the cause, to retaliate on the military, by whom they were sometimes annoyed. In

general, however, the Presbyterians, who came armed to their places of meeting for their own defence, evinced no disposition to attack, or even to engage in warfare with their adversaries.

Finding these means insufficient to accomplish their purpose, the council, on the 13th of July, appointed the seats of two noblemen and ten gentlemen, in those parts of the country, where conventicles were most frequent, to be garrisoned. Each garrison was to be provided with a company of foot and horse, and to be furnished by local assessment with victuals and every thing requisite. "Though these were houses of no strength," says Burnet, "and not at all properly situated for suppressing of conventicles, yet they were taken; soldiers were put in them, and the countries about were required to furnish these small garrisons with all things necessary. This," he adds, "was against the express words of the law that had lately settled the militia." (Burnet, vol. ii. p. 687.)

Of individual suffering, both among the indulged and the non-indulged, our limits, in general preclude us from giving any account. We cannot, however, avoid taking notice of the most disgraceful and illegal persecution

of Lord Cardross, who was fined and imprisoned, although not even the shadow of a crime could be laid to his charge. While his lordship was in Edinburgh on business in the month of May, his lady, who was far advanced in pregnancy, was surprised by an armed band at midnight, who demanded admittance into the castle. There being but a few servants in the house, the gates were opened, when a scene of ferocity and outrage ensued of which savages might have been ashamed. Having spoiled every thing valuable in the castle, they retired, carrying along with them Mr. King, his lordship's chaplain; but they had proceeded only a short distance, when the country people rescued Mr. King from their hands. On hearing of the outrage, Lord Cardross applied to the council for redress, but his petition was rejected; nay, the soldiers having at the same time complained of Mr. King's rescue, his lordship was fined in £1000 sterling, and imprisoned in Edinburgh castle during the sovereign's pleasure, for being art and part guilty of an attempt on his majesty's forces. This flagrant act of injustice towards this worthy nobleman, was committed on the ground, that three of his female servants "*went out to gaze,*" when

the disturbance arose on Mr. King's rescue : and, under the pretext that his lordship had not prevented his tenants from attending conventicles, other sums equally oppressive were exacted from him during the two years he was imprisoned in the castle. (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 291.)

The increase of field preaching, which left the curates few or no hearers, and materially thinned the churches even of the indulged, being loudly exclaimed against by the Prelates, the council found it necessary to devise other measures for their suppression. Many individuals, both ministers and hearers, had been cited to appear before the council ; but aware that fines and imprisonment on the Bass awaited them as soon as they appeared, instead of obeying the summons they removed to other parts of the country. They were consequently declared rebels ; but notwithstanding of this, they fearlessly continued to preach or attend at conventicles, and the bishops found themselves still disappointed of their prey. Recourse was therefore now had to one of the most detestable measures of a tyrannical government. On the 6th of August, " Letters of intercommuning" were issued against a great number of

the most distinguished Presbyterians, including several ladies of rank,* by which they were proscribed as rebels, and cut off from all society; a price was fixed on their heads, and every person, not excepting their nearest relatives, was prohibited from conversing with them by word or writing, from receiving or harbouring them, and from supplying them with food, drink, clothes, any of the accommodations or necessities of life, under pain of being pursued with rigour, as guilty of the same crimes with the persons intercommunicated.† Thus, for preaching at, or attending field conventicles, were multitudes excluded from the pale of society. (Burnet. vol. ii. p. 687.)

Notwithstanding the infamous letters of intercommuning, the severe penal laws in force, and the diligence of the military in

* These letters were issued against sixteen or eighteen ministers, and upwards of a hundred gentlemen, ladies, and merchants.

† "We command and charge all and sundry our lieges and subjects," says the proclamation, "that they, nor none of them presume nor take upon hand to reset, supply, or intercommune with any of the foresaid persons, our rebels, nor furnish them with meat, drink, house, harbour, victual, nor no other thing useful or comfortable to them, nor have intelligence with them by word, writ, or message, or any other manner of way, under pain to be repute and esteemed art and part with them in the crimes foresaid, and pursued therefore with all rigour, to the terror of others."—Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 288.

harassing, robbing, wounding, and imprisoning all whom they suspected of favouring conventicles, these meetings still continued to increase during the year 1676. The ministers, who were doomed to destruction by men, but who were highly honoured of God, wandered from place to place, preaching the word, and dispensing the ordinances of the gospel to the people wherever they could find opportunity. The Magdalene chapel in Edinburgh was repeatedly resorted to by outlawed ministers, who fearlessly preached the word of life to immense multitudes. The Lord's Supper was dispensed at Kippen, in Stirlingshire, by Messrs. Law, Crawford, and Smith; and Messrs. Jamieson and Smith administered the same ordinance to a large congregation within two miles of Glasgow. In general, however, in consequence of the numerous garrisons established throughout the country, and the vigilance of the military in preventing conventicles, these meetings were held in the most sequestered spots, whither the people in vast numbers resorted with arms in case of an attack. To prevent a surprise, a guard was placed around the congregation; and on the approach of the enemy, the signal was given,

either to disperse, or to stand upon their defence.

The following interesting account of one of these meetings, which was held at Lillies-Leaf moor, will show the firmness of the people, and their great anxiety for the safety of the ministers. It was a very large assemblage ; but having been informed "that the sheriff and some of the life-guards were ranging the moors on the fore-part of the day, the meeting shifted their ground within Selkirkshire, thinking themselves safe, being out of his bounds. About the middle of the afternoon's preaching, an alarm was given, that the sheriff and his party were hard at hand riding fast, whereupon he [Mr. John Blackader, the minister,] closed, giving the people a word of composure against fear. The people all stood firm in their places without moving. Two horses were brought for the minister to fly for his life, but he refused to go, and would not withdraw, seeing the people kept their ground, and so dismissed the horses. The militia came riding furiously at full gallop, and drew up on the burn brae, over against the people, but seeing them stand firm, they seemed a little damped, and would speak nothing for a

while At this moment one honest country-man cast a grey cloak about Mr. Blackader, and put a broad bonnet on his head, so he stood in disguise among the people, unnoticed all the time of the fray. The sheriff cried, 'I charge you to dismiss in the king's name.' The people answered resolutely from several quarters, 'We are all met here in the name of the king of heaven, to hear the gospel, and not for harm to any man.' The sheriff was more damped seeing their confidence. He was the Laird of Heriot. His own sister was present at the meeting, and stepping forth, in a fit of passion, took his horse by the bridle, clapping her hands and crying out, 'Fye on ye, man; fye on ye; the vengeance of God will overtake you for marring so good a work;' whereat the sheriff stood like a man astonied. One of the soldiers comes riding in among the people, and laughing said, 'Gentlemen and friends, we hope you will do us no harm.' This was all a pretence—they had come to look for the minister, and were edging nearer the tent; but they were ordered instantly to be gone and join their own associates, as more appropriate companions. The people still refusing to dismiss, the sheriff called out Ben-

net, laird of Chesters, and Turnbull of Standhill, who were present in the congregation, and with them he negotiated that they would dismiss the meeting, otherwise he must use force. Accordingly, at the entreaty of Chesters they withdrew. The minister all this while keeping his disguise sat still till the dragoons were gone, and then took horse with a company of seven or eight gentlemen, and got to Edinburgh next morning." (Blackader's Memoirs, pp. 209, 210.)

The determined spirit evinced by the people in resorting to, and defending their ministers at field meetings, so alarmed the Prelates, that they insisted on the council using still more effectual measures for bringing the offenders to condign punishment. Committees were accordingly appointed on the 1st of March, to perambulate the country, and to fine and imprison all whom they suspected to be inimical to Prelacy ; but, though these committees carried the instructions of the council into effect in the most arbitrary manner, the bishops were still unsatisfied. Another scheme was therefore devised by government, and carried into effect on the 20th of July, namely, the appointing of a general committee for public affairs, consisting of the

two archbishops, the lord privy seal, and a number of noblemen, or any *three* of them, with power "to meet when and where they pleased, to take trials of conventicles, invasions of pulpits, &c., and to summon, apprehend, bring under bond, and give what orders they thought proper to the forces, sheriffs, and other magistrates." "Now," says Wodrow, in speaking of this unhallowed junto, "Prelacy was at the top of affairs, when the two archbishops, with any third creature of theirs they pleased to choose, had the whole of what for many years had been the council's chief work. Our religion and liberties were now at a low pass—when the primate and two others in his chamber, may issue out orders as they find proper." (Hist. vol. ii. p. 324.)

The chief agent of this committee as well as of the council, was Captain Carstairs, an infamous spy,* who by his illegal proceed-

* "One Carstairs," says Burnet, a "loose and vicious gentleman, who had ruined his estate, undertook to Sharpe to go about in disguise to see those conventicles, and to carry some with him to witness against such as they saw at them, in which he himself was not to appear; but he was to have a proportion of all fines that should be set upon this evidence; and he was to have so much for every one of their teachers that he could catch."—Hist. of his Own Times, vol. ii. p. 688.

ings proved the means shortly afterwards of producing a change in the council, and of adding to the persecutions against the Covenanters. Carstairs, about the middle of July, having met Mr. James Kirkton—author of the History of the Church of Scotland, and one of the ejected ministers—on the High street of Edinburgh, inveigled him into a dark room, in a private house, where he offered Mr. Kirkton his liberty provided he would give him a sum of money. In the meantime, Mr. Baillie of Jerviswood, Mr. Kirkton's relative, having been made acquainted with his situation, repaired to the house, accompanied by other two gentlemen, and demanded admittance. This was insolently refused by Carstairs, who, though he had no warrant, drew a pistol from his pocket; but before he could make any use of the weapon, Mr. Kirkton seized him by the arms, and in the struggle which followed both fell to the ground. A cry of murder reaching the ears of the gentlemen without, they burst open the door, and, without offering any personal violence to Carstairs, rescued and carried off their friend. This affair being reported to the council by Carstairs, Jerviswood was immediately summoned before

them; but on his appearance, and narrative of the villanous conduct of Carstairs, the council thought it would be prudent to let the matter drop. On Sharpe declaring, however, that "if Carstairs were not supported and encouraged, and Jerviswood made an example of, it was not to be expected that any would ever prosecute fanatics," the council were so overawed, that on the day following, Jerviswood was fined in £500 sterling, and imprisoned four months, and the other two gentlemen were referred to the committee for public affairs.* To cover so iniquitous a sentence, a forged warrant, antedated by Sharpe, was produced by Carstairs at the trial; and in order to get quit of those members of council who inclined to lenity, Hamilton, Kincardine, Dundonald, and several others were removed, and their places filled by those who were more devoted to the persecuting primate and his adherents. (Kirkton, pp. 367-372. Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 327. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 690.)

The persecution of Jerviswood was fol-

* The council were so enraged at the citizens, a great number of whom had assembled in the council chamber to see the issue of so iniquitous a transaction, that it was proposed and put to the vote to imprison all the spectators; which was prevented by one vote only.

lowed by the issuing of letters of intercommuning against Mr. James Kirkton and other fourteen ministers, the renewing of the proclamations against conventicles, and the passing of a sentence of outlawry against about eighty individuals in different parts of the country. The sufferings which, in consequence of this, were entailed on the Covenanters, were of the most appalling description, one single year's detail of which would be sufficient to fill a volume. The following instance of cruelty may however serve as a specimen. Fifteen men had been seized at a field meeting in 1674, and imprisoned at Stirling. Eight of them were liberated, but the other seven, who had been confined till this year, sent a humble and most affecting petition to the council, of the following tenor:—"The petitioners being prisoners in the tolbooth of Stirling these fifteen months bypast, some of us being poor old decrepit bodies, and all of us poor creatures with wives and families, we have been many times at the point of starving, and had long ere now died of want, if we had not been supplied with the charity of other people:—Wherefore it is humbly desired, that your lordships would compassionate our pitiful

and deplorable condition, and that of our poor starving wives and children, and order us liberty; we being willing to enact ourselves to compear and answer before your lordships whenever we shall be called." One of these prisoners was upwards of sixty years of age, and another nearly seventy years; but instead of compassion, the council, in order to clear the jail, made a present of them to a Captain Maitland, then in the service of France, who at midnight "brought them out of prison, and carried them off fettered, and tied to one another." (Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 341, 342.)

Although we have, in comparison, taken little notice of the indulged ministers, yet the hardships to which they were subjected were far from being inconsiderable. Attached as they were in general to Presbyterianism and to the covenants, both national and solemn league—notwithstanding the unworthy part which they acted in accepting of the indulgence—the council threatened, fined, ejected, or otherwise persecuted many of them, for refusing or neglecting to follow any of the antichristian rules which had been laid down to them by the prelates. "Whereas it is informed," say the council in a proclamation,

“that the outed ministers indulged as aforesaid, at least many of them, have violated and contravened the foresaid orders and instructions—upon which terms they were permitted and indulged to preach and exercise the other functions of the ministry—the said lords do now require and command all those indulged ministers to keep and observe the foresaid orders and instructions in time coming, for keeping within the bounds of their own parishes, and celebrating the communion upon one and the same Lord’s day, as they will be answerable at their peril;—discharging them to admit any of the ministers not licensed by law to their communions or pulpits, and if they disobey, the bishops of the diocese to depose them.”

So unreasonable and oppressive were the rules laid down to the indulged ministers, that several of them ventured to remonstrate against them. Among others, Mr. Thomas Wylie, minister of Fenwick, transmitted to the council the following strong reasons why Presbyterian ministers could not, in conscience, comply with their injunctions. “The first rule,” says he, “will deprive honest parents of the Presbyterian persuasion (being in the parishes of conformists, and not clear

to receive ordinances from them) of the benefit of baptism to their children: for the parents, being under an insuperable scruple, dare not, with a doubting conscience, go to the conformist for that benefit; in which case, if the conformist be not of a condescending nature, it cannot be expected that the parent will obtain a certificate of him, to get the benefit elsewhere; which will inevitably occasion straitening to nonconformist ministers. The second rule 'That all in one and the same diocese, should have the communion in one and the same day,' is impracticable, as will easily appear to any who will consider the different bounds, numbers of people, employments, &c. of the respective congregations, in one and the same diocese. Often in one and the same congregation, emergent occasions have put the minister and eldership to change their ordinary time. It is impossible for old, sickly, infirm men, to discharge all the exercises requisite, when that ordinance is gone about, without help; and how shall it be had, if all are restricted to one day? And this restriction will deprive many of the Lord's people, to the saddening of their hearts, of the more frequent opportunities of this solemn ordinance. The

third rule, 'that there be no preaching without the Church,' is prejudicial to the benefit of souls, will inevitably occasion much throng confusion, and disorder within the church in the time of the solemn work. The fourth rule relates to the sentence of confinement; and may I not say, it is hard enough that honest men living peaceably, should *in dicta causa* be sentenced as evil doers? this is apt to weaken our ministerial authority among the profane; it deprives us of one of the greatest comforts of this life, viz. mutual converse for mutual edification, and strengthening one another's hands in the work of the Lord; and it cannot but be grievous that the keys of our prison doors are hung at the bishop's belt, and at his only. The fifth rule thrusts the Presbyterians under a direct and formal subjection and subordination to Prelacy, contrary to their known principles and judgment. And the last rule fetters them under a sort of vassalage and subserviency to the bishop."*

* Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 339, 340.—We have been induced to give the above extract that the reader may judge for himself whether the preachers were *favoured* with the indulgence, "*without requiring any terms of submission to the established religion.*" So says Hume, with his usual accuracy and regard to truth!! Hist. vol. viii. p. 49.

But if they—who had yielded more to the bishops than even their own consciences could justify—were thus oppressed, what must have been the sufferings of the non-indulged ministers, and of the staunch supporters of conventicles? The picture darkens as we advance; and the year 1677 commences with renewed and more disgraceful acts of persecution, which, as we shall see in the chapter following, issued in a scene of barbarity, over which, were it not of necessity, we would willingly draw a veil.



CHAPTER VIII.

Determination of the Covenanters to adhere to their principles—new severities used by the council—examination of Mr. James Frazer of Brae—proclamation of the bond—it excites general dissatisfaction—meeting of the heritors of Ayr and Renfrew—their resolutions—several Scottish exiles ordered to leave Holland—testimony of Mr. John Brown—efforts of the prelates to excite an insurrection—violence of Carstairs—the council resolve to call out the Highlanders—their proceedings approved of by Charles—examination of James Mitchell before the council—his conduct under the torture—his trial before the justiciary court—perjury of Sharpe and the other members of council—Mitchell's execution.

At this period nearly three fourths of the Scottish nation were opposed to Prelacy. The people, in general, would not be “dra-

gooned" into a renunciation of their faith; they decidedly refused, at whatever risk, to hear the curates: and they even now began to drop away from the indulged ministers, whom they looked upon as unfaithful to their principles, and culpably silent on every point which might offend the persecutors. Conventicles were consequently multiplied, and these meetings were attended by thousands who, aware of their doom should they fall into the hands of the enemy, considered it both lawful and prudent to provide themselves with arms, in case of any sudden attack. Two of these meetings, in particular, from the numbers which attended them, were extremely galling to the bishops. One of them was held in Teviotdale, and the other in the parish of Maybole, Ayrshire. At the latter assembly, Messrs. Riddell, Welsh, Morton, Warner, and Barclay, dispensed the ordinance of the Lord's supper with the utmost solemnity; and the multitudes returned to their dwellings, "praising God for all they had heard and seen," and more determined than ever to endure any species of suffering for the cause of Christ, rather than abandon their religion at the mandate of a profligate priesthood.

Nor were they permitted to enjoy these stolen opportunities of communion with God, and of delight in his service, with impunity. Many, both ministers and hearers, were seized, several of whom were sent to the Bass, others confined in prisons, and heavy fines imposed upon all. Among other ministers that fell at this time into their hands, was Mr. James Frazer of Brae, who had been intercommuned upwards of two years. The following extract of his examination before the committee of council, will give the reader some idea of the procedure of these persecutors. Having acknowledged that he was a preacher, but declining to mention the names of those by whom he was ordained, Sharpe said, "This gentleman seems not at all to be ingenuous with us; possibly he would be more, if he knew the state he stands in, which is not ordinary, for he is of most pernicious principles, destructive to all kind of government, and withal is very active in spreading these, so as there is scarce a conventicle I hear of, but it is still Mr. Frazer who is the preacher." "I know no pernicious principles I hold," replied Mr. Frazer, "such as you mean, may concern either church government or loyalty; as to

the first I freely acknowledge, as it is now established, I have a very great aversion from it; as to my loyalty, I would not care much though you all saw what were in my heart anent it; as to my spreading of them, I have been preaching Christ, and exhorting people to mend their ways and repent, and if the doing of that be pernicious, I confess myself guilty of it." *Bishop*. The greatest heretic will say so. *A*. It is not saying, but doing. *Bishop*. These are fine principles; you hold that all who are not of your judgment it is lawful to cut them off. *A*. If you can produce any famous, faithful witness, (false you may,) that ever I maintained any such doctrine, I am content to die presently. *Hatton*. Did you ever preach in the fields? *A*. Your lordship knows that that, according to your law, is criminal, and I am not obliged to be my own accuser. It is enough that my throat be cut, though I do it not with my own hands; if you mind to stage me on that, bring my accusers, and then proceed as your lordship thinks fit. *Bishop*. Though these shifts be taken from others, yet they must not, sir, be taken so from a man of parts. *Hatton*. Did you ever preach at Linlithgow? *A*. It may be I have. *Bishop*. Yes,

sir, you have, and in the fields there too, and that in great conventicles. *A.* I desire that may be proven. *Hatton.* Did you ever converse with Mr. Forrester? *A.* It may be. *Bishop.* Yes, sir, you have, and ye had still, since he went to the Bass, correspondence by letters, and you were his correspondent. *A.* My Lord Hatton, since the bishop says so, I declare ingenuously, I never had a line from Mr. Forrester, yea, nor even so much as changed a word with him.” Without any further trial, Mr. Frazer was condemned to be imprisoned on the Bass, to which he was shortly afterwards conveyed along with several other ministers. (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 354.)

But this tardy method of suppressing conventicles, and of punishing their supporters, was by no means commensurate with the wishes of the prelates, who eagerly thirsted for the destruction of every Covenanter within the realm. On the 2d of August, accordingly, a proclamation was issued, requiring “all heritors, wadsetters, and liferenters,” to enter into the following bond—which, it will be observed, rendered them responsible for their families, servants, cottars, tenants, and

all who were under them, that they should attend their parish churches, and be present at no house or field conventicle. “I, ——— do hereby bind and oblige me, that I, my wife, children in my family, cottars, and servants, shall not withdraw from public divine worship in our respective parish churches, but shall attend the public ordinances there at the ordinary diets thereof, under the pains and penalties contained in the seventh act of the second session of his majesty’s second parliament, which is six pounds Scots for every tenant, and forty shillings Scots for every cottar or servant; as also that neither they nor I shall contravene the sixth act of that same second session of parliament, in having any children of ours baptized with any save our own parish ministers, or others lawfully authorized, conform to the said act, under the penalty of fifty pounds Scots for every cottar; and that neither I nor they shall be married by ministers not lawfully authorized, under the penalty of an hundred merks; and that I, and my wife, and my children in family, cottars, and servants, shall not be present at conventicles, either in the houses or in the fields, under the penalty

contained in the acts of parliament and former proclamation of council," &c. (Kirkton, p. 373. Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 365.)

So unreasonable a bond, which rendered every man responsible for his neighbour, filled the country with alarm, and petitions were presented against it from every quarter, many of them signed by gentlemen who were no enemies to the proceedings of government. This unlooked for opposition of the landed interest induced the council to suspend the imposition of the bond at present, (Burnet, vol. ii. p. 719,) but it was enacted, "That if any person that is summoned be ready to swear and pay his fine, he shall not be troubled with bonds or other engagements, seeing the constant punishment of transgressors will supply the necessity of bonds," &c.

On the 17th of October, however, the council, at the suggestion of the bishops, ordered a meeting of the heritors of the counties of Ayr and Renfrew, to be held at Irvine on the 2d of November, to devise effectual measures for the suppression of conventicles. The convening of this meeting was entrusted to the Earls of Glencairn and Dundonald, and Lord Ross, who were enjoined "serious-

ly to represent to the meeting how highly, in his majesty's name, we resent the outrages and affronts done to the government, in the shires of Ayr and Renfrew, which have been frequently represented to be the most considerable seminaries of rebellion in this kingdom; though none hath more eminently tasted of his majesty's clemency, nor hath his majesty indulged any shires so much as these: and albeit his majesty's service, and the quiet of the kingdom, would require such severe courses to be taken for curbing those insolencies as might very much prejudice the heritors of those shires, yet his majesty and council being further desirous to make them inexcusable, and to the end that the kingdom may see that the prejudice of heritors shall arise from their own negligence, therefore we thought fit that the aforesaid persons should be called together," &c. These instructions were accordingly laid before the meeting by the three noblemen; but instead of yielding implicit obedience to such arbitrary mandates, the heritors unanimously agreed to the following resolutions:—"1st, That they found it not within the compass of their power to suppress conventicles. 2d, That it is their humble opinion, from former

experience, that a toleration of Presbyterians is the only proper expedient to settle and preserve the peace, and cause the foresaid meetings to cease. 3d, That it is their humble motion that the extent thereof be no less than what his majesty had graciously vouchsafed to his kingdoms of England and Ireland.” On receiving these resolutions, the three noblemen, aware of the danger of laying them before the council, simply reported, “that after the consideration of the whole affair, the meeting found it was not in their power to quiet the disorders.” (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 375.)

Although the Prelates were highly gratified at the receipt of this answer, which furnished them with a pretext for resorting to the “severe courses” they intended to adopt, yet in the meantime the council pretended to be exceedingly displeased at the heritors, and they immediately reiterated their proclamations and threats against conventicles.

Nay, such was the persecuting spirit of the government, that application had already been made to the States-General of the United Provinces, to order the removal of the Scottish refugees from their territory, particularly Messrs. John Brown, Robert Macward, and

James Wallace. To the honour of the States, however, this demand was at first decidedly refused; (Crookshank, vol. i. p. 319.) but by repeated applications, they found it necessary, in order to preserve peace with Britain, at length to enjoin these three eminent ministers to remove from Holland—an injunction which was given by the States with the deepest regret. Before leaving that country, Mr. Brown drew up a large and valuable testimony, which is published in the new edition of the Scots Worthies. The following extract from this paper regarding the rising at Pentland cannot but gratify the reader.

“I must not forget to be a witness unto that loyal and magnanimous attempt to set the crown upon the head of our Lord; to deliver the whole land from the insupportable yoke of tyranny, and unjust and illegal oppression both of soul and body; to recover the rights and privileges of the church, which by wicked hands had been robbed and taken away; to vindicate, according to the covenants of the Lord, the just and lawful rights and liberties of the subject; to re-establish, according to solemn oaths and vows, the true and only lawful government of the house of

God; to put a stop to the further progress of that defection and apostasy from God which had been for several years carried on with great madness and fury; and consequently to prevent the dreadful and terrible judgments of God, which our wicked and woful backslidings could not but procure at the hands of the jealous and righteous Lord. I mean that laudable enterprise and adventure, in the year 1666, undertaken in such singleness and simplicity of heart, followed and managed with such integrity and freedom from self-seeking designs, desire of private revenge, or the like corrupt principles and intentions; as that all, not maliciously pre-occupied in their judgment, and blinded with prejudice, could not but be convinced of the innocency of the whole design, and approve of the same, as a truly commendable and praiseworthy undertaking. It is true it seemed not good in the eyes of the Lord to countenance the same, and to make it prosperous—and I look upon the dispensation as saying, that the cordial appearance for Christ and his interest was too late, and should have been in the year 1660, (and not first in the year 1666,) when the enemies of the Lord first appeared with their design to over-

throw the whole work of the Lord, and to bring us back into Egypt, and the defection was breaking in as a flood. Had the faithful of the land then appeared for the Lord and his cause, and resolved to have Christ and his interests secured, cost what it would the Lord had probably appeared on their head and given success to the work.—Again, I look upon the dispensation as saying, on the other hand, that this appearance was too early; I mean, that the time of our delivery was not yet near at hand, it being equitable and just that we should first drink deeper of the cup which we had mingled for ourselves; and should find by more bitter experience the difference between the service of the Lord and the service of enemies; and should be made to serve the enemies of the Lord, in hunger, and in thirst, and in nakedness, and in want of all things, and have a yoke of iron upon our necks, until we be destroyed; because we would not serve the Lord our God with joyfulness, and with gladness of heart, for the abundance of all things.” (Scots Worthies, pp. 156, 157.)

The severe statutes enacted against the Covenanters, and the dreadful manner in which these statutes were enforced, encour-

aged the prelates to anticipate a general rising—an event which they earnestly desired, in order that they might have some shadow of excuse for the sanguinary measures which they now intended to adopt.* Still, however, though the people attended conventicles, and were exposed to the greatest severities, they evinced no symptoms of rebellion; and except at times, when they were obliged to stand on their defence, the tranquillity of the country remained undisturbed.

While the prelates, by their cruelties, strained every nerve to excite an insurrection, an incident occurred, which, when magnified, hastened the plan they had already devised, of laying waste the country by a lawless banditti. The infamous Carstairs, in scouring the country with a troop of horse, surprised, in October, six or seven intercommuned gentlemen in a private house. One of the miscreants immediately fired, and wounded one of the company who happened to be standing at the door, while several

* The favourers of popery and of arbitrary power wanted a pretext for keeping up a large standing army in the kingdom; and when they could not obtain this in England, they endeavoured, not without success, by means of a pretended insurrection, to gain their object in Scotland. See Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 372, and authorities there quoted by the Editor.

of his comrades discharged their pieces at the windows. The gentlemen immediately retaliated, and the aggressors were forced to retreat. But the resistance of this audacious attack on a peaceable company being reported to the council by Carstairs, as an atrocious attempt on his majesty's forces, the cry of rebellion was immediately raised by the bishops, and a more efficient force was demanded for suppressing the supposed insurrection which threatened the overthrow of both church and state ! (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 371. M'Kenzie, p. 323.) The parties concerned in resisting the aggressors were denounced rebels, and the Covenanters throughout the kingdom were charged with being art and part guilty of the crime !

Even this general accusation was not, however, sufficient to satisfy the prelates. A sweeping sentence of rebellion was passed against all the Presbyterians ; which was followed by the barbarous resolution of letting loose on the country, an army of Highland savages, to plunder those districts in which any were inimical to Prelacy. The following decision of the council was published on the 2d of November : " Upon some information of growing disorders and insolencies in

the western shires, it was thought fit a proclamation be drawn in case of an insurrection, and the nearest Highlanders be ordered to meet at Stirling upon advertisement by proclamation; and letters are to be writ to noblemen, and gentlemen, to have their vassals and tenants ready and at a call. It was further thought fit that arms and ammunition should be sent to Stirling; the forces at Glasgow are ordered to Falkirk, and new men are to be presently levied to complete them." (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 374.)

Every thing being thus prepared for the invasion of a country in a state of the most profound tranquillity, the council waited only for the sanction of government to commence their diabolical work of devastation. Nor was that sanction difficult to obtain. On the 20th of December, a letter was received from his majesty, highly approving of the conduct of the council, and informing them that he had appointed one detachment of English forces to march to the borders, and another of Irish troops to repair to Belfast, to hold themselves in readiness to be conveyed to Scotland. Charles then proceeds as follows: "We have been with much satisfaction informed, that you have required the noble-

men and others who have interest and considerable vassals, in the Highlands and places adjacent, to be in readiness with what forces they can bring out to rendezvous at Stirling, and from thence to march with our standing forces upon the first advertisement, for the prosecution of our service. And seeing we have fully resolved to maintain and defend the government of the church in that our kingdom, as it is now established by law, we do hereby require and authorize you to command all these forces before mentioned, to march to these shires and places so infested with religious practices, and there to take effectual courses for reducing them to due obedience to us and to our laws, by taking free quarters from the disaffected, and by disarming of all you shall find necessary, and securing all horses above such a value as ye shall think fit, by causing the heritors and liferenters to engage and give bond for their tenants and others who live upon and possess their lands, that they shall keep no conventicles, that they shall live orderly and obedient to the laws, and by causing the tenants and masters of families give the like bonds, by causing every parish and heritors of it give surety that no conventicles shall

be kept within any part of the parish, property, or commonty, nor harbour nor commune with the rebels or persons intercommuned. And for the more effectual prosecution of these our commands, that you punish the disobedient, or those you judge disaffected, by fining, confining, imprisonment, or banishment; and further, that ye place sufficient garrisons in all places where ye shall from time to time find it necessary.”

This letter requires no comment, the subsequent proceedings of the council—in enforcing the bond and entailing ruin on thousands by means of the Highland army—being too practical an illustration of its infamous particulars.* So early, indeed, as the 26th of that month, a commission was passed for raising the Highlanders, who were to rendezvous at Stirling on the 24th of January following, with instructions, “in their march, to take quarters for their money, and to force

* Lauderdale being accused by the prelates of manifesting too much lenity to the Covenanters, exculpated himself by promising an unreserved surrender of himself to the promotion of their cause; which to the sad experience of the Presbyterians, he henceforward scrupulously fulfilled, breathing, like Saul of Tarsus, threatenings and slaughter against all who adhered to the principles which he himself had once solemnly sworn to maintain.

quarters for their money in case the same shall be refused,"—nay, "to take free quarters, and to seize on horses for carrying ammunition and provisions ; indemnifying them against all pursuits, civil and criminal, for killing, wounding, apprehending, or imprisoning, all such as should make opposition." (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 379.) This almost unlimited commission to rob, plunder, and murder, a peaceable community, it will be observed, was for no other crime than that of the people refusing to abandon their religion.

Previously, however, to giving any account of the outrages committed by "the Highland host," we shall advert to the trial and execution of James Mitchell, who, as already noticed, was committed to prison in 1674 for his attempt on the life of Sharpe. After lying two years in prison, he was again brought before the court in 1676, and examined respecting his connexion with the Pentland rising and his former confession, and ordered to be put to the torture. In a few days afterwards, accordingly, he was conveyed to the council room, and interrogated whether he would acknowledge his confession, the judge pointing to the boots, adding, "Sir, you see what is on the table, I will see

if these will make you do it." To which Mr. Mitchell replied, "My Lord, I confess that by torture you may cause me to blaspheme God, as Saul did the saints; you may compel me to speak amiss of your lordships, to call myself a thief, a murderer, &c., and then pannel me upon it; but if you shall, my lord, put me to it, I here protest before God and your lordships, that nothing extorted from me by torture shall be made use of against me in judgment. But to be plain with you, my lords, I am so much of a Christian, that whatever your lordships shall legally prove against me, if it be a truth, I shall not deny it; but, on the contrary, I am so much of a man and a Scotchman, that I never held myself obliged, by the law of God, nature, or the nation, to be my own accuser." The only answer returned to this was, that he had the devil's logic. "My lord," rejoined Mitchell, "I have now been two full years in prison, and more than one of them in bolts and fetters, which have been more intolerable to me than many deaths, if I had been capable thereof; and it is well known, some, in a shorter time, have been tempted to make away with themselves; but respect and obedience to the express law and

command of God hath made me to undergo all those hardships, and I hope this torture also, with patience, namely, that for the preservation of my own life and that of others, so far as lies in my power, and to keep innocent blood off your lordships' persons and families, which, by shedding of mine, doubtless you would bring upon yourselves and posterity, and wrath from the Lord, to the consuming thereof, till there should be no remnant nor escaping."

His leg was then enclosed in the diabolical engine, and, during the time that the executioner was performing his inhuman work, the following, among other questions, were put to him. "Q. Are you that Mr. James Mitchell who was excepted out of the king's grace, and favour, or not? A. I never committed any crime deserving to be excluded. Q. Know you any more of that name? A. Yes, there are two in Mid-Lothian. Q. Were you at Pentland? A. No. Q. Were you at Ayr, and joined the rebels there? A. I never joined with any such. Q. Where were you at the time of Pentland? A. In Edinburgh. Q. When knew you of their rising in arms? A. When the rest of the city knew it. Q. When was that? A. When

the messenger came from Dumfries, and Dalryell and his forces marched out at the West Port. Q. Where did you meet with James Wallace? A. I knew him not at this time. Q. Did you go out of town with Captain Arnot? A. No.” Amidst his anguish, Mitchell addressed his tormentors in the following affecting language:—“My lords, not knowing that I shall escape this torture with my life, I beseech you to remember what Solomon saith, ‘He who showeth no mercy shall have judgment without mercy;’ and if there be any of you, as I hope there is few present, thirsting after my innocent blood, mind what is spoken, Rev. xvi. 5, 6. And, now, my lords, I do freely and from my heart, forgive you who are judges sitting on the bench, and the men who are appointed to be about this horrid work, and also those who are vitiating their eyes beholding the same; and I do entreat, that God may never lay it to your charge.” Having at length fainted, through extremity of pain, the executioner cried, “My lords, he is gone!” upon which his tormentors withdrew, and he was reconveyed to prison. (Naphtali, p. 431.)

Mitchell continued in Edinburgh jail another year, and was then sent to the Bass

but on the 7th of January, 1678, he was once more criminally indicted before the justiciary court, for making an attempt on the life of Sharpe. After a long debate, in which Sir George Lockhart, for the prisoner, displayed great ability, the court decided that Mitchell's confession being judicial, could not be retracted, but that if it was proven that a promise of life had been granted on that confession, such promise would secure the life of the prisoner. The chief witnesses were, Rothes, Hatton, Lauderdale, and Sharpe, four of the principal officers of state, who, while they swore that a confession was made by Mitchell, as deliberately gave their oath that no promise whatever was made or assurance given that his life should be spared. In vain did Mitchell and his friend Nicol Somerville, remind the perjured prelate of his own words. All the answer they received was, that "it was a villanous lie!" When Sir George M'Kenzie, who was now lord advocate, declared that the evidence was closed, the prisoner produced a copy of the act of council in which the promise was made, and insisted on the register itself, or a certified extract from it, being laid before the court. This was vehemently op-

posed by Lauderdale, who, though only a witness, passionately exclaimed, "that he and the other noblemen were not brought there to be accused of perjury, and that the books of council being the king's secrets, no court should peruse them." Mitchell was accordingly found guilty, and condemned to be executed on the 18th of that month.*

As soon as the court rose, the lords repaired to the council room, and inspected the register, where, to their confusion, they found

* His execution was most cruelly hurried forward, contrary to the following very moving petition of his wife—a petition, to accede to which, it would appear, was too much for the wisdom and humanity of the council:—"The humble supplication of Elizabeth Somerville, &c. humbly sheweth—That whereas, your supplicant's husband was on Thursday last sentenced to die upon Friday next, the 18th of January instant, and that it cannot be otherwise conceived but in nature and humanity, your supplicant hath an ardent desire to see her husband, and to take her long farewell of him before he die, which at present she cannot do, nor will she be able to do so betwixt and the said day, in respect of her present case and condition, it being not twelve days since she was brought to bed of a child, and presently affected with a fever, and wherethrough she will be disappointed and frustrated of that her only worldly desire, and thereby may be brought to the grave as soon as her husband, unless your lordships graciously prevent the same. May it therefore please your lordships, for the love of Christ, mercifully to consider the premises, and be graciously pleased to reprieve the foresaid sentence for such a time as your gracious lordships shall think expedient, that your poor indigent supplicant may be, in that space, capable to see her said husband, and take her last farewell of him."—*Naphtali*, p. 440. *Scots Worthies*, p. 160.

the solemn promise recorded and signed by Rothes, as president of the council. Justly ashamed of their conduct, Lauderdale hinted at the propriety of obtaining a reprieve for Mitchell, but this being resolutely opposed by Sharpe, the duke impiously replied, "Then let him glorify God in the Grassmarket!" The sentence was accordingly executed on the day appointed, but being prevented from addressing the crowd by the beating of drums on the scaffold, he threw his dying speech among the people. (Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 459—472. Naphtali, p. 441. Kirkton, p. 381. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 714, et seq.)

Though we are far from justifying the attempt of Mitchell to cut off the apostate and cruel primate, yet it must be evident to every candid mind that his torture and execution can admit of no apology. The record of the promise of life which was given him still remains, to the everlasting disgrace of those unjust judges whom even Laing charges with a "complication of perfidy, cruelty, perjury, and revenge." (Laing's Hist., vol. ii. p. 80.) The lame defence of M'Kenzie himself, only serves to expose the flagrant injustice of the blood-thirsty crew who then lorded it over an oppressed coun-

try. (M'Kenzie's Hist., p. 328.) Nay, even Hume is constrained to say, that "such a complication of cruelty and treachery shows the character of those ministers to whom the king had, at this time, entrusted the government of Scotland. (Hume's Hist., vol. viii. p. 56.)

In justice to Mitchell we cannot forbear giving his own account of the affair, in a letter to a friend, dated January 18, 1678. "My accusation," says he, "before the justices was, that I shot a pistol at the Archbishop of St. Andrews in July, 1668, whereby the Bishop of Orkney was wounded, and that I did confess the same before the council. My defence, among many others, was, that any confession made by me, was upon oath, and promise of life and safety. And indeed the oath and promise was made to me by my lord chancellor in these words:—'Upon my great oath, honour and repute, if I be chancellor, I shall save your life, and if ye will not confess, the council will take another way to find it out.' This I took for the boots, as I afterwards found. The justices found my confession to be a judicial one, though I refused to own it before their court, but did retract it unless the above mentioned promise

were made good to me. The justices sustained my said defence, upon the foresaid oath and promise made to me; but when the indictment came to be proven, the said confession was witnessed by my lord chancellor, and other lords of council called to make faith, but with the same breath they denied the making, or the knowledge of the making of any such oath or promise to me. But it pleased the Lord to provide me with a copy of the act of council, which was at that time made by the said lords, and subscribed, as I believe, by my lord chancellor, wherein the same assurance is expressly granted to have been given me by warrant of the then lord commissioner, albeit indeed in the same act it is revoked, for the reasons there given. When I produced this, the lords who witnessed against me were greatly commoved, and vehemently pressed the justices that no such act should be received in my vindication, since it did so directly contradict what they had sworn.—Whereupon I was found guilty by the assize upon the foresaid confession; albeit, in all likelihood they would not have found me guilty, if the act of council had been received.” (Naphtali, pp. 397, 398.)

CHAPTER IX.

Assembling of the Highland host—proceedings of the committee of council—ferocity of the Highlanders—peaceable disposition of the people—the bond—its arbitrary enforcement—it is generally resisted—furious acts of the council—depredations committed by the military—instances of their savage cruelty—their attack on James Nisbet—the Highland host withdrawn—increase of conventicles—one at Williamwood in Renfrewshire—prisoners shipped for the plantations—Field meeting at Whitekirk—trial and execution of James Learmont—convention of estates—a cess imposed for the support of a new army—disputes among the Covenanters regarding the cess—their sufferings.

ON the 24th of January the Highlanders and militia, to the number of about ten thousand, assembled according to appointment at Stirling. The horror produced by the irruption of these savages, it is impossible to describe. They were armed, besides their accustomed weapons, with spades, shovels, and mattocks, and with daggers or dirks made to fasten to the muzzles of their guns, iron shackles for binding their prisoners, and thumblocks to oblige them to answer the questions which they proposed to them, and to discover their concealed treasures. In this warlike attitude they marched westward, taking free quarters, and committing acts of rapine and outrage without discrimination in

a country which, to the astonishment of their own officers, was in a state of the utmost tranquillity. Having arrived at Glasgow, they were quartered on the inhabitants, while a committee of council there assembled, proceeded to give the necessary instructions. These instructions were, that the sheriffs of the different counties, with the assistance of the military, should disarm the whole inhabitants of whatever rank, and enforce the bond, under the heaviest penalties, on all within their jurisdiction. This bond, which was nearly the same as the one formerly attempted to be imposed on the nation, bound and obliged the subscribers, not only for themselves and their families, but also for their tenants and cottars, and their families and servants, that not one of them should attend a conventicle, or converse with an intercommuned preacher. (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 387.) Such outrageous proceedings are animadverted upon and condemned even by Hume. "It was ridiculous," says that author, "to give sanction to laws by voluntary contracts: it was iniquitous to make one man answerable for the conduct of another; it was illegal to impose such hard conditions upon

men who had nowise offended.” (Hume’s Hist., vol. viii. p. 57.)

While the council were thus employed, the Highlanders not only grievously oppressed and plundered the inhabitants of Glasgow, but laid waste the country around that city for several miles, robbing and pillaging without mercy ; all which was sanctioned by the committee under the pretext of enforcing the illegal and obnoxious bond. Having at length obtained not above a hundred and sixty signatures to it in Glasgow, the council ordered the Highlanders to march to Ayr. Their route thither was marked by a ferocity far exceeding that committed by an enemy in a conquered province. All horses, not excepting those in the plough, were seized ; every portable article of household furniture shared a similar fate ; nay, the very travellers on the highway were stripped of whatever piece of dress these lawless mountaineers were pleased to covet. “ Since God made man upon the earth,” says M’Ward, “ since soldiers were mustered and marched under colours and command, never was there an army raised, or an host put so formally to march up with displayed banners

against Christ as king.” (M’Ward’s Tracts, p. 129.)

The council arrived at Ayr on the 7th of February, and proceeded to enforce the bond on the heritors and feuars throughout that and the adjacent counties, by quartering the Highlanders on all who refused to affix to it their signatures. Instead of gaining their object, however, the council beheld the people patiently submit to be robbed of their property, imprisoned, nay tortured, rather than subscribe so iniquitous a deed. Of two thousand nine hundred heritors in Lanarkshire, only nineteen took the bond. Nor were the other counties more pliant, many noblemen, though aware of the ruin which it would entail on their estates, setting the example of steadfast opposition to so unwarrantable a proceeding. Enraged at the “obstinacy” of all ranks throughout the country, the council determined to proceed to greater extremities. In vain did the nobility and gentlemen of Ayrshire humbly request the council to forbear enforcing the bond on a peaceable community. “Lauderdale,” says Burnet, “made bare his arm, and swore by Jehovah, that he would make them enter

into these bonds.”—“These things,” adds the same author, “seemed done on design to force a rebellion, which they thought would be easily quashed, and would give a good colour for keeping up an army. And Duke Lauderdale’s party depended so much on this, that they began to divide in their hopes the confiscated estates among them.—Great joy appeared in their looks upon a false alarm that was brought them of an insurrection; but they were as much dejected when they knew it was false.” (Burnet’s Hist., vol. ii. pp. 720, 721.)

The failure of two proclamations, forbidding all heritors, liferenters, or masters to receive tenants or servants who had not “taken the bond,” was followed by the unparalleled issuing of a writ of lawburrows against the people. This sometimes necessary resort of one private individual against another—who on giving his oath that he is in personal danger, obtains legal security from the offender that he will keep the peace—was most absurdly issued by the king against his subjects. By this deed, the rejecters of the bond were found to be “disaffected persons to the king,” and, in *wholesale*, declared to be “suspected persons,” of whom his majesty stood

in imminent danger: "All other courses being ineffectual," say the council, "his majesty hath just right to suspect the designs of such as have or shall refuse or delay to take the bond, as tending to overthrow his majesty's authority, to subvert the established order of the church, and to disquiet the peace of his majesty's good subjects; and since every private person may force such, from whom they fear any harm, to secure them by law-burrows, and that it hath been the uncontroverted and legal practice of his majesty's privy council to oblige such, whose peaceableness they justly suspected, to secure the peace for themselves, their wives, bairns, men, tenants, and servants, which are the very words of all such bonds, and that under such penalties as they find suitable to their contempt, guilt, &c. Therefore the lords of his majesty hath declared his just suspicion of those who refuse or delay to take the bond—do ordain that all such persons shall be obliged to enact themselves in the books of secret council, that they, their wives, bairns, men, tenants, and servants, shall keep his majesty's peace, and particularly that they shall not go to field conventicles, nor harbour

nor commune with rebels or persons inter-communed, &c., and that within six days next, after the charge, under the pain of rebellion, and putting of them to the horn." It is almost incredible that such proceedings should ever have taken place in a professedly Christian, much less in a Protestant, country. Well might Wodrow add, that "Charles I. was much blamed for declaring his Scots subjects rebels; but the managers made his son ridiculous, in asking lawburrows from his subjects." (Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 401—403. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 722.)

During these disgraceful transactions of the council, the Highlanders continued their lawless depredations without control. Their rapacity made no distinction of age or sex; and the few who subscribed the bond, as well as the many who refused it, were equally the victims of indiscriminate pillage. Not content with free quarters, they plundered the houses of every thing either valuable or useful, stripped the very clothes off the inmates, and beat and wounded all who dared to murmur a complaint. Cattle of every description were either wantonly killed or driven away; the granaries were despoiled of their contents; taxes were imposed on the land;

and to sum up the miseries of the people, torture was resorted to, in order to force a disclosure of the places where it was suspected money had been concealed. "In some places they tortured people, by scorching their bodies at vast fires, and otherwise, till they forced them to discover where their money and goods were hid, to avoid their thievish hands. To crown all, it is well known, that these vile miscreants, openly in cities and towns, committed crimes over which it is fit to draw a veil, their excesses of unnatural and horrid wickednesses being so great up and down the country. I likewise pass over the woundings, beatings, and cutting off fingers and hands—all which, and many other enormities, were done without the least punishment unless it were a night's detention in the guard sometimes."* "The barbarities

* Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 422. The following exceedingly moderate account of the loss sustained by each parish in Ayrshire, is abridged from the same author:—

In Kyle.

Parishes of Ayr and Alloway,	£12,120 0 0
St. Quivox,	900 0 0
Monkton,	2,700 0 0
Tarbolton,	6,180 0 0
Galston,	3,679 0 0
Craigie,	735 5 0
Riccarton,	2,844 0 0
Dundonald,	3,373 6 0

Carry forward, £32,531 11 0

exercised upon the house and lands of Cunninghamhead," adds the same author, "in the parish of Dredhorn, deserve a particular remark. A troop of Angus gentlemen heritors,

	Brought forward,	£32,531	11	0
Barnwell,		836	0	0
Symington,		1,300	6	0
Mauchlin, Muirkirk, and Dalgean,		8,985	8	0
Calton,		3,537	13	0
Ochiltree and Auchinleck,		5,211	7	8
Cumnock, Old and New,		3,015	6	4

In Carrick.

Straiton,	12,000	0	0
Colmonell,	10,000	0	0
Kirkoswald and Girvan,	1,816	0	0
Barr,	1,000	0	0
Daylie,	180	0	0
Maybole,	1,700	0	0
Dalmellington and Kirkmichael,	4,981	0	0

In Cunningham.

Kilmarnock and Fenwick,	14,431	0	0
Kilwinning,	5,895	15	8
Stevenston,	622	12	4
Ardrossan,	1,549	15	4
Dalry,	653	12	8
Dunlop,	2,629	16	6
Irvine, parish without the town,	1,029	0	4
Largs,	1,907	0	4
Kilbride,	692	0	0
Kilbirnie,	2,080	0	0
Loudon,	2,934	13	4
Dreghorn and Pearston,	1,505	7	6
Kilmaurs,	3,250	15	0
Stewarton,	6,062	12	8
Beith,	4,894	0	0
Cumbray,	266	13	4

£137,499 6 0

Or £11,558, 5s. Sterling.

commanded by the Laird of Dun, had the lands of Cunninghamhead allotted to them for their quarters. Sir William Cunningham, of Cunninghamhead was then a minor, a school-boy at Irvine, and his excellent father dead; and he himself, to be sure, had never acted any thing offensive to the government. The heritors who took the bond, and their lands, were free from quartering and all exactions, as far as Highland robbers could be restrained; and although the minor Sir William was not capable of accepting of, or refusing the said bond, yet the said Angus troop were quartered upon his ground. The troopers, pretending the several country houses in Sir William's land were not convenient enough for many of them to quarter in, obliged the tenants to advance five pounds sterling for dry quarter as they called it. When, by paying this, they reasonably expected to have been freed from guests they paid so well for, every tenant in that little spot of ground had at least three footmen of the wild Highlanders put upon them, who, during their abode, near a month, lived at discretion; yea, notwithstanding of the pretended insufficiency of these country houses for entertaining gentlemen, several of them found it best, after dry

quarters were collected, to continue. While Dunbar, (cornet of the above troop,) stayed there, he came one day to Cunninghamhead, where nobody lived, and in the second story of it was a granary wherein lay meal, which was the most substantial part, if not the whole, of the minor's estate. The cornet called to have the doors opened to him; the keeper of the keys was accidentally out of the way, and so ready access could not be given at that time. This enraged him so, that wilfully, and in day-light, without any order, or any provocation, he became guilty of housebreaking and wilful fire. There being at the foot of the stair which taketh up to the tower, an iron grate, with a strong wainscot door behind it, he set fire to the door, and by gunpowder got the hanging lock upon the iron gate blown up and broke open; and having forced a hole in the wainscot door got in; and he and his servants broke open the granary, went into it with their boots and shoes, all bedaubed with clay and earth from the open fields, and pierced and dug up the meal, under pretext of searching for arms, and with their dirty feet perfectly spoiled it, to the great loss of the innocent minor." (Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 428, 429.)

But to particularize individual cases of suffering would be an irksome as well as endless task; it is sufficient to say that the rich and the poor, the noble and the ignoble, shared alike. As however some writers have unfairly stated that "not one whig lost his life during the invasion of these Highland crusaders," (Note to Kirkton by the Editor, p. 391,) we shall instance two deaths among several taken notice of by Wodrow, which were produced by their violence. "William Dickie, merchant in Kilmarnock, had nine Highlanders quartered upon him for six weeks, who had meat and drink and dry quarters. When they went off they robbed his house, from which they carried some sacks full of household stuff and goods; a hose full of silver money; and abused this honest man, broke two ribs in his side, and swore they would cut off his head; and frightened his wife sore, by putting a dirk a little into her side, that she being big with child very soon after died with the terror. This good man's loss was very great, upwards of a thousand merks. (Hist. vol. ii. p. 429.) The other case was that of Lady Houston in Renfrewshire. "A party of soldiers had sadly harassed Sir Patrick Hous-

ton's tenants, in his absence at London; yea, such was their rudeness to Dame Anne Hamilton, his lady, that not only the meaner sort, but even Sir George Nicolson who commanded them, threatened her personally to that pitch, that she was obliged to let down the portcullis of the gate to keep them out of the house; but unhappily she found two of her younger sons, William and Archibald, were without the gates; she was so frightened with their threatenings, and the fears of what they might do to the young boys, that she fell into a fever, of which in a few days she died; and her sister Mrs. Grizel Hamilton, daughter to the Lord Bargeny, by waiting upon her, fell into the same distemper and died." But allowing that not one death had been occasioned by these barbarians, no merit is due either to them or to the government. They were prepared and authorized to murder all who offered any resistance. The Covenanters alone therefore prevented bloodshed by patiently submitting to every species of suffering rather than stand upon their own defence. "It was happy for the public peace," says Burnet, "that the people were universally possessed with this opinion," viz. that an insurrection

was eagerly sought; for "when they saw that a rebellion was desired, they bore the present oppression more quietly than perhaps they would have done, if it had not been for that." (Burnet's Hist., vol. ii. p. 721.)

In corroboration of what we have already stated, concerning these plunderers, as well as to give a still further specimen of their depredations, we shall transcribe the following account of their ferocious conduct towards John Nisbet of Hardhill, from the memoirs of his son:—"In the year 1678 there was a great host of Highlanders came down in the middle of the winter to the western shires of Scotland; the shire of Ayr was the centre of their encampment or cantonment, where they pillaged, plundered, thieved, and robbed night and day; even the Lord's day they regarded as little as any other. At their first coming, four of them came to my father's house, who was overseeing the making of his own malt. They told him they were come to make the whig (so they termed the Presbyterians) to take with God and the king—this they repeated again and again, and pointing to his shoes, they said they would have the brogue off the whig's foot,

and accordingly laid hands on him; but he being a very strong man, threw himself out of their grips, and turning to a pitchfork, which was used at the stacking of his corn, and they having their broad swords drawn, cried, Claymore! and made at him; but he quickly drove them out of the kiln, and chased them all four from the house, and knockd one of them to the ground. The next day about twenty of them came to the house; but he not being at home, they told that they were come to take the whig and his arms. They plundered his house, as they did the house of every other man who would not conform to their laws; and such was their thievish disposition, and so well acquaint were they with the *second-sight*, that let people hide their goods never so well, these Athole and Broad-Albians men would go as right to where it was hid, whether beneath or above the ground, as if they had been at the putting of it there, dig it up, and away with it, rejoicing as though it had been their own." (Mem. of James Nisbet, pp. 49, 50.)

The rapine and outrage committed by this lawless banditti became at length so intolerable, that the government itself began to be

ashamed;* and about the end of February the Highlanders were sent home to their native mountains. Their retreat is thus described by Wodrow:—"When the Highlanders went back, one would have thought they had been at the sacking of some besieged town, by their baggage and luggage. They were loaded with spoil: they carried away a great many horses, and no small quantity of goods out of merchants' shops, whole webs of linen and woollen cloth, some silver plate bearing the names and arms of gentlemen. You would have seen them with loads of bed-clothes, carpets, men and women's wearing clothes, pots, pans, grid-irons, shoes, and other furniture, whereof they had pillaged the country." (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 413.)

That the Episcopal clergy had a deep hand in all the cruelties which were inflicted

* Our governors perceiving the west country would not rise in arms (as was hoped), but would continue patient under their tyranny, they began to be ashamed that they had chosen an expedient both ineffectual and odious to the world's end, as it was unparalleled in the history of the world from the beginning. So after the Highlanders had to the utmost tempted the patience of these poor people, though the devouring soldiers wearied not, our council thought good to conclude this cruel expedition." Kirkton, p. 390.

on the Presbyterians, must already have appeared evident, but we shall give here another specimen of the spirit by which they were actuated, as shown in the following letter from the clergy of Ayrshire to the Archbishop of Glasgow :

“ May it please your Grace,

“ If we had received your grace’s answer to our last letter, we possibly could have given your grace a better information of affairs than now we can ; but we thought it our duty to transmit to your grace our humble opinion of several occurrences. 1st, The great and leading men in this country are all gone into Edinburgh, and expect to be sheltered there ; therefore, it is fit they be severely dealt with, sought after, and forced to obedience, otherwise the commonalty, who absolutely depend upon them, will never be brought to conformity. 2dly, The indulged ministers must be stinted of their liberty, and some new tie laid upon them, or they absolutely removed ; for let people say what they will, most of these disorders flow from them. 3dly, That the leading men of this country, now at Edinburgh, be not protected by the council, but taken and sent hither ; for the committee think their credit

highly concerned in it; if after they have been at the pains of prosecuting them this length, the council do protect them, it will be a great discouragement to them in their procedure for the future. 4thly, The garrisons appointed here are but three, and too weakly manned, and they are too far from the heart of the shire, and it will be fit two hundred men be left in garrison at Ayr. This is the humble opinion of your grace's most humble and obedient sons in the Lord." (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 411.)

The northern invaders were replaced by the regular troops, who were provided with instructions to proceed with the greatest severity against conventicles, and headed by officers who had shown themselves qualified for carrying these instructions into execution. The noblemen in the west country who had refused the bond were particularly obnoxious to the council, and new measures of persecution were resolved on against these obstinate opposers of their arbitrary measures. Aware of the danger which threatened them, Cassillis, Hamilton, and other twelve noblemen, repaired to London, and, with Athole and Perth, by whom they were joined, fearlessly laid their own grievances

and those of the nation before his majesty. Being supported by the English parliament, who loudly remonstrated against Lauderdale's administration, Charles, with the greatest reluctance, wrote to the council on the 19th of April, "commanding in the mean time that the bond and law burrows be suspended till his further pleasure be sent, and that all the forces, except his own guard, be immediately disbanded." (Crookshank, vol. i. p. 364.)

This favourable letter, which, as we shall afterwards see, was speedily countermanded, together with the disbanding of the army, so encouraged the Covenanters, that meetings in the fields for preaching and hearing the gospel were everywhere increased. Multitudes who had hitherto joined in the defection, disgusted at the tyranny of the persecutors, abandoned their churches and repaired to the mountains to listen to the glad tidings of salvation. The indulged ministers, who had yielded too much to the bishops, were also greatly deserted, the people, as well as the ministers, who had rejected that badge of supremacy, considering it unlawful to hold communion with those whom they reckoned unfaithful to their prin-

ciples. The unhappy difference which now took place between the indulged and the non-indulged, ultimately proved almost the ruin of both; (Kirkton, p. 393.) but although we cannot approve of the length to which several of the latter carried their opposition, we must say that they acted the more consistent and conscientious part.

Among the numerous conventicles which were kept this year by the non-indulged, there were two, in particular, concerning which it will be necessary to give some account. One of these was held on the 14th of May, at the house of Williamwood, in Renfrewshire, where Messrs. John Campbell, Matthew Crawford, and several other ministers preached to a vast assemblage. During divine worship they were attacked by the military and dispersed. The ministers escaped, but upwards of sixty of the hearers were seized and imprisoned; and bibles, plaids, and every article of dress on which the soldiers could lay their hands, were violently taken from the rest of the people. The far greater part of the prisoners having refused to take the bond, were conveyed to Edinburgh; and on their declining to inform the council of the names of the

preachers, they received sentence of banishment to the plantations in the West Indies. These individuals, together with Mr. Peden, and several other prisoners, to the number of sixty-seven, were accordingly shipped at Leith, to be transported to the plantations by one Ralph Williamson of London; but on their arrival at Gravesend, Williamson was not to be found, and the master of the vessel refusing to maintain them any longer, they were set ashore, and treated with great kindness by the people. The greater part of them shortly afterwards returned to their native country. (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 476. Howie's Collection.)

The other conventicle was held in the same month at Whitekirk, opposite the Bass, to disperse which, forty soldiers were sent from that garrison by the governor. The people seeming disposed to remain, the soldiers advanced and commanded them in the king's name to dismiss; but were answered by one of the crowd, "that though they honoured the king, they were resolved to hear the word of God when preached to them." One of the soldiers immediately struck the man who had given this reply, upon which the aggressor was, in his turn, knocked down

by a countryman. A skirmish followed, issued in the disarming of the military, and dismissing them to their garrison, carrying with them one of their comrades who was wounded in the scuffle, and who shortly afterwards died. For this affair, James and George Learmont, and William Temple, were tried before the justiciary court on the 11th of September. It was proved that George Learmont and William Temple had weapons at that meeting but made no use of them, and that James Learmont had no weapon, but had uttered the words following:—"Let no cowards be here to-day, and let such as have arms go to the fore-side." (Crookshank, vol. i. p. 375.) The jury having returned a verdict, finding them guilty of being present at conventicles only, Sharpe in a transport of rage, threatened them with an assize of error if they did not amend their verdict, and find the prisoners guilty according to the indictment. On the day following the advocate having deserted the diet against George Learmont, the jury "found William Temple guilty of being at the conventicle libelled, near the place where the man was killed, with a sword under his arm, but not drawn; as also, that James Lear-

mont was not only guilty of presence, but of words, conform to the deposition of witnesses." (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 478.) This verdict was evidently extorted from the jury by the primate, who always showed the utmost anxiety to persecute to death those who adhered to that religion from which he himself had apostatized. Sentence of death was accordingly passed on Learmont, and Temple was banished to the plantations. According to his sentence, Learmont was executed in the Grassmarket on the 27th of September. "I am come here this day," said he, in his dying speech on the scaffold, "to lay down my life, and I bless the Lord I die with a willing heart and a cheerful mind, as being conscious to myself before God, angels, and men, that I am most innocent of that man's blood, for which I am condemned to die—and that I had neither art nor part in taking of his life, as was proven before the justice court, and the assize declared me not guilty of the foresaid blood; but after the assizers' declaration, some of the lords, thirsting after my blood, unjustly passed sentence to take my life. It was also proved before the judiciary court, that all the weapons I had was only a wand in my hand, and also it was

proved, that when the man was killed, I was at a great distance from the place : only this is all they charge on me, that I should have spoken such words as to provoke the meeting to fall upon the party that came to interrupt the worship of God and to scatter the meeting; yet God is my witness, before whom I must shortly appear, that I had no intention for blood, but only for our own defence, being violently pursued, to hinder us in following the service of God upon his own day, and being upon our own just self-defence, and the defence of the gospel.—As for the archbishops, I charge my blood upon them, with all the blood of the innocent sufferers in this cause, which, by their means and their associates, has been shed, and all the other sufferings the covenanted people of the Lord have been put to. (*Naph-tali*, p. 445. *Scots Worthies*, p. 185. et seq.)

During the continued and increasing persecution against those who favoured or attended conventicles, Lauderdale, taking advantage of the absence of those noblemen who had repaired to London to complain of the council's tyranny, procured an order from his majesty to call a convention of estates. Accordingly, although Charles had

given orders, in April, to disband the army, yet on the 7th of May he sent a letter to the council highly approving of their conduct, and ordering new troops to be raised in order to complete the work which the Highland host had left unfinished. To maintain these forces the present convention was assembled. Lauderdale, either by corrupting or threatening the electors, procured a return of members entirely devoted to government, who, according to appointment, met on the 26th of June. Having voted a sufficient force of both cavalry and infantry, £1,800,000 Scots were granted for their support, to be raised in five years by a cess of £360,000 Scots, or £30,000 sterling annually. (Burnet, vol. ii. p. 725.) In the preamble to this act they declare, "That it is not fit that this kingdom should only of all others, remain without defence, at a time wherein these dangerous field conventicles, declared by law rendezvouses of rebellion, do still grow in their numbers and insolences, against all which the present forces cannot in reason be thought a suitable security."

This act created a new dispute among the Covenanters. (Hind Let Loose, p. 135.) Not a few of them, especially those who had ac-

cepted the indulgence, were inclined to pay the cess, which, as they said, being forced, was on their part involuntary, and urged the example of Christ in paying tribute to Cæsar as a warrant for them to pay the sums demanded. Others, again, argued, that—passing the authority by which this cess was imposed being not a *free* convention—however lawful it was to pay tribute to a heathen magistrate, it was quite different to take an active part in supplying a tyrannical government with the means to annihilate the gospel and persecute its adherents in a country professedly Christian. Would Christ, it was asked, have wrought a miracle to pay cess if the tax-gatherer had demanded it for the support of idolatrous worship and the destruction of the cause of God? Which of

* “I ask,” says M’Ward, “if our convention had asked a cess for a sacrifice to the devil charging every man to bring in his proportion—will any man say I should pay my proportion laid on, because of the moral force of the law?—or suppose that all these, or any of the faithful ambassadors of Christ, who have been remarkably owned of him in their administrations as his ministers, should fall into the hands of the hunters, and that they should make a law, appointing every man in the nation to send in thread to make tow to hang these ministers or these people who company with Christ’s ambassadors, and a farthing to pay the executioner;—could any man without horror, if complying in so far as to contribute what was demanded, think himself free? Fracts, pp. 240, 241.

the contending parties acted most agreeably to their principles we leave the reader to judge, keeping always in mind that this cess was levied for the express purpose of maintaining a standing army to suppress the preaching of the gospel by ministers, who were non-indulged.

But not only was this question a new cause of dissension among the Covenanters; it proved the source of innumerable sufferings to the nation at large. The levying of the cess was entrusted to men who executed their commission with a severity at which humanity recoils; the military enforced the disgraceful laws now in force at the point of the sword; conventicles were every where hunted down, and their abettors fined, quartered upon, plundered, and imprisoned; and to add to the distress of the nation, additional forces were raised in November, by whom the dismal scenes so lately exhibited by the barbarous Highlanders were much more than revived.

CHAPTER X.

New measures resorted to for destroying the Covenanters—extensive powers conferred on the military—their barbarities—conventicles assume a warlike attitude—hoax on the town major of Edinburgh—prosecution of Mr. William Veitch—his narrow escape—Earl of Shaftesbury's speech in the English parliament—dreadful cruelties committed on the Covenanters—violent act against conventicles—the Presbyterians driven almost to despair—a party of them form a plot against Carmichael—they accidentally fall in with Archbishop Sharpe, and resolve to take away his life—death of the primate—the Covenanters vindicated from approving of assassination—murder of Andrew Ayton of Inchdairnie—reflections.

THE year 1679 commenced with still more dreadful enactments against the Covenanters. All the sufferings indeed to which they had been hitherto exposed, were trifling in comparison to those which from this period were carried on for nine years with a barbarity that has no parallel except in the proceedings of the apostate church of Rome.

Various consultations had taken place in the council towards the close of the preceding year respecting the suppression of conventicles, the regulating of the forces, and the collecting of the cess. The following "overtures," which were drawn up by the committee for public affairs on the 9th of January, and submitted to Charles for his appro-

bation, were the result of these deliberations:—That the council be empowered to appoint sheriff-deputies and other officers to enforce the laws against intercommuned ministers, supporters of conventicles, and all who absent themselves from their own parish churches: that the military be commanded to disperse all meetings at conventicles by force of arms, and be indemnified for killing, wounding, &c., any who make resistance, or who refuse to dismiss when commanded to do so in the king's name: that the soldiers be enjoined to seize and imprison the preacher and as many of the hearers as possible; but, it is added, “in regard the multitudes who frequent those rendezvouses of rebellion are such as they cannot all be seized, nor probation easily led against them, the soldiers be empowered to take from the rest of the persons found thereat whom they cannot conveniently carry to prison—their upper garments, that the same might be a means of conviction, and an evidence against them, and that the soldiers be empowered to take all the arms that any persons shall be found to have at these seditious meetings, and the horses of any that shall have arms:” that none be allowed to enter into the second class

in colleges, or received as apprentices, who will not bind themselves to attend the church: that the laws compelling those in places of public trust to subscribe the declaration be put strictly in force: that rewards be offered of five hundred pounds sterling for the apprehension of Mr. Welsh, three thousand merks for any intercommuned minister, and nine hundred merks for any other "vagrant" preacher: and that the indulged ministers, who act contrary to the orders of the council, be punished, and the vacancies occasioned by the death or ejection of any of them be supplied by "orthodox" ministers. (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 11.)

These overtures, being highly approved of by his majesty, were, by the council, turned into an act, and immediately put into execution. The newly levied forces were ordered to march to the west country—one detachment to lie at Glasgow, to prevent house or field conventicles in that city or the neighbouring country; and the remainder to be dispersed through the different counties in the south and west. So extensive were the powers of these military apostles, that if a few individuals only were seen in the open fields, they were to be apprehended and im-

prisoned until they gave bond, under certain penalties that they would attend their churches and never countenance a conventicle. Search was to be made for all who resorted to field meetings, whether ministers or hearers, and those who offered any resistance were to be killed on the spot. Horses and arms were to be seized, doors and lock-fast places broken open, to search for suspected persons, and any house in the country was to be used as a garrison when occasion required. (Crookshank, vol. i. p. 385.)

Being thus instructed, and furnished with ammunition sufficient to destroy the whole western counties, the forces arrived at their respective destinations in the beginning of March. The dissensions among the Covenanters regarding the payment of the cess were now summarily quashed by these armed reformers, who not only enforced payment of the sums demanded, but plundered and destroyed every thing valuable on which they could lay their avaricious hands. Under colour of searching for outlaws, the most atrocious deeds were committed in almost every dwelling; and intercommuned persons who fell into their hands were used with the greatest cruelty and thrown into prison.

Banishment either to the Bass or to the plantations proved a summary method of getting rid of many of the obnoxious whigs. Oaths were tendered to shepherds and labourers, obliging them to say whether they had seen or heard of any conventicles in their neighbourhood; the produce of the ground was deliberately destroyed; and many years' labour of the industrious and unoffending peasantry wantonly committed to the flames. (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 17.) Such were the means employed to make converts to Prelacy!

Oppressed, persecuted, and hunted down in every quarter, the Covenanters were compelled to unite their meetings, and assemble for public worship in numbers sufficient to withstand an assault from the military. Every conventicle, therefore now assumed the appearance of an army; watches were set at regular distances to give the alarm on the approach of the enemy; and armed guards were placed around the congregation to assist or defend their brethren in case of attack. The warlike attitude which these meetings now assumed, though the Covenanters acted strictly on the defensive, has been condemned by many writers in terms most unsparing. But was it a crime, we

would ask, to refuse to abandon their religion at the mandates of an atheistical junto, who were not fit for governing even a colony of felons? Were they to blame for attending public worship in fields or on mountains, when their persecutors had closed every door against them? Or, does their guilt consist in not patiently submitting to be butchered in cold blood by a brutal soldiery? No; but “they should not have defended themselves with carnal weapons.” Then, they must either have embraced Prelacy, or consented to be put to death or banished to the plantations, as their persecutors, in the plenitude of their power, thought proper. But they did neither, and it is well for us at the present day that they were endowed with another spirit. They never would have lifted a weapon against their tormentors had they not been forced to do so in their own defence; and neither the law of God nor of nature prohibits self preservation; for the same command that forbids the taking away of another’s life, enjoins all lawful endeavours to preserve our own.* If *they* are to

* It has been often alleged, that the command of Christ is, “when they persecute you in one city, flee into another.” But what were the Covenanters to do when they had no city to which to fly? Every city was alike a

be blamed for repelling the assaults of the savage military, so may the Protestants in Germany who entered into the League of Smalcald, and the Lords of the Congregation in Scotland at the period of the Reformation.

The cruelty of the military having forced many of the non-conforming ministers to repair to Edinburgh, diligent search was ordered to be made throughout that city for all who kept or supported conventicles. The chief agent in this persecution was Johnston, the town major, who daily harassed and oppressed the citizens, under pretext of searching for these proscribed meetings. Enraged at his tyrannical proceedings, a few of the inhabitants determined to check his temerity, by inflicting on him a slight corporal punishment. With this view they sent notice to him that a conventicle was to be held in a certain house, giving him the precise hour of meeting. With the greatest alacrity he repaired to the spot at the time appointed; but instead of a conventicle, he found only a few individuals quietly seated in the room. Immediately on his entrance, however, he

scene of cruelty, and no man was allowed to leave the kingdom lest he should find refuge abroad.

was seized and after receiving a sound drubbing, was compelled to promise that he would abstain, in time coming, from hunting after conventicles.

This hoax was magnified by the council into a premeditated attempt at assassination. The parties implicated, together with Mrs. Crawford, the landlady, shifted for themselves; but the house was broken up next day and plundered; and, "to find out the persons who had offered such an affront to their major, so useful a servant, not only to the town of Edinburgh, but to the prelates and their interest," diligent search was ordered to be made for the offenders throughout the city. Disappointed, however, of their prey, the council issued the following proclamation, dated 12th March, against all the Presbyterian ministers who had taken refuge in Edinburgh:—"The lords of his majesty's privy council have thought fit, hereby to require and command the magistrates of Edinburgh, presently to take up a list of the men and women betwixt sixty and sixteen, and to deliver the same in to the council or their committee—and to take up lists of the names and designations of the hale persons that are or shall be lodged in

the city of Edinburgh, each night—under the penalty of an hundred merks for each person's name who shall not be delivered up. And further, the said lords do hereby require and command the magistrates to turn out the wives and families of all outed ministers, fugitive and vagrant preachers, and inter-communed persons, forth of the city of Edinburgh—under the penalty of an hundred pounds sterling.” (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 32.) “Notwithstanding this rigour,” says Blackader, “few ministers went off the town, but retired to more private houses, and hid themselves for a season.” (Memoirs, p. 229.)

Among the numerous prosecutions of ministers, which took place in the beginning of this year, we shall notice only that of Mr. William Veitch, who had been forfeited in absence for his alleged accession to the affair of Pentland. He immediately afterwards retired to England, where, having changed his name to that of Johnston, he remained preaching mostly in private, till January, 1679, when he was seized and sent down to Scotland for trial. Being called, on the 22nd of February, before a committee of council, at which Sharpe presided, Patterson, bishop of Edinburgh, acted the part of inquisitor.

“Have you taken the covenant?” inquired Patterson. “*A.* All that see me at this honourable board may easily perceive that I was not capable to take the covenant when you and the other ministers of Scotland tendered it. *Q.* But did you never take the covenant since? *A.* I judge myself obliged to covenant myself away to God, and frequently to renew it. *Q.* But, were you not at Pentland fight? *A.* If you will give me power and liberty to seek witnesses to prove it, I was in Edinburgh the night before and that day.” Although from his long residence in England, Mr. Veitch was now considered a subject of that kingdom, the privy council having received authority from the king, determined to indict him before the justiciary court. Perceiving that his death was determined on, he prevailed with Gilbert Elliot, an intimate friend, to repair to London, and lay his case before several of the members of Parliament. The Earl of Shaftesbury, on receiving notice of the intended trial, advised Elliot “to print an abstract of Mr. Veitch’s case, that he was seized in England, and, without any fault, after near thirteen years’ abode there, carried down to Scotland, to be judged for old

alleged crimes, and to give a copy of the case to the members of parliament of both houses." With this advice Elliot immediately complied; and the parliament was prevented from instituting an inquiry into the prosecution of an English subject in a different kingdom, only by the following letter from Charles to the privy council of Scotland:—"Whereas, it is now humbly represented to his majesty, that Mr. William Veitch was not actually present at the fight at Pentland, and having retired timeously from the rebels, hath ever since lived peaceably in his majesty's kingdom of England; and his majesty being graciously pleased to encourage those that repent for their accession to such rebellious courses, hath therefore ordained, and by the said letter authorized and required his privy council, to set the said Mr. William Veitch at liberty, he always enacting himself to remove forth of his ancient kingdom of Scotland, and not return to the same; and that his majesty's said letter shall be his security until he return to that his said kingdom." This letter arrived only an hour before sentence of death was to have been pronounced on Mr. Veitch; but though proceedings were stopped against

him, he still remained in prison. (M'Crie's Life of Veitch, pp. 94—102. Wodrow, vol. iii. pp. 7—9.)

The tyrannical measures of the administration in Scotland were indeed so glaring, that several of the members of the English parliament loudly remonstrated against them, as tending to re-establish popery and despotism in both kingdoms. "Popery and slavery," said the Earl of Shaftesbury in the house of lords, "like two sisters go hand in hand. In England, popery was to bring in slavery, in Scotland, slavery was to go before, and popery was to follow. I do not think that your lordships, or the parliament, have jurisdiction there. It is a noble and ancient kingdom; they have an illustrious nobility, a gallant gentry, &c., but we cannot think on England as we ought, without reflecting on the condition they are in. They are under the same prince, and the influence of the same favourite and counsels, and are hardly dealt with. Can we that are richer expect better usage? Can we expect to enjoy our magna charta long, under the same persons and administration of affairs? If the council-table there can imprison any nobleman or gentleman for several years, with-

out bringing him to a trial, or giving the least reason for what they do, can we expect the same will ever preserve the liberties of the subjects here? I will acknowledge I am not versed in the particular laws of Scotland; but this I know, that all northern countries have, by their laws, an undoubted inviolable right to their liberties and properties; yet Scotland hath outdone all the eastern and southern countries, in having their lives, liberties, and estates subjected to the arbitrary will and pleasure of those that govern. They (the council) have lately plundered the richest and best counties of that kingdom, by having brought down the barbarous Highlanders to devour them, and all this without any colourable pretence; nor can there be found out a reason of state for what they have done, but that their wicked ministers designed to procure a rebellion at any rate; which, as they managed it, was only prevented by the miraculous hand of God. My lords, I am forced to speak this the plainer, because, till the pressure be fully and clearly taken off from Scotland, it is not possible for me or any thinking man, to believe that good is meant us here." (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 28.) Though much sympathy,

however, was expressed by several members of the English parliament, no effort was made by them to obtain for the Presbyterians any mitigation of their sufferings. On the contrary, they were allowed to remain at the mercy of their persecutors, till, driven to desperation, they made a bold but fruitless effort to effect a deliverance for themselves.

We cannot enter into a detail of the horrid cruelties which were now committed on the Covenanters by the council, and in perpetrating which they were not a little aided by the Episcopal clergy. The Presbyterians were betrayed, insulted, harassed, pillaged, and in short treated like beasts rather than reasonable creatures. Many of them were driven from their houses, and forced to betake themselves to solitary moors and mosses, and inaccessible ravines, where, without shelter, fire, or food, they endured miseries which may be conceived, though they cannot be described. "Wherever they turned," says Crichton in his *Memoirs of Blackader*, "they beheld objects calculated to incite and exasperate their passions. They could not go where their eyes did not encounter some revolting spectacle, some monument of cru-

elty. They saw themselves driven from the habitations of men, as enemies of human kind—liable to be seized or shot at the pleasure of the meanest sentinel, and without regard to law or humanity. They saw their houses plundered and tenantless—their families flying from hill to hill, enduring the extremities of hunger and cold—the mangled limbs of their relations exhibited to public scorn, and stuck on poles and gates—the ghastly trophies of bloody foes. Those heads and hands, which their enemies, in derision, had fixed in the mock attitude of prayer, seemed in their eyes to be pleading with heaven for retribution, and crying for vengeance to expiate their blood. They saw their own lives in continual jeopardy, and knew not but every moment the assassin might be at their door—that every spot of ground they trod might be their scaffold and their sepulchre.” (Memoirs, pp. 236, 237.)

“Yes—though the sceptic’s tongue deride
Those martyrs who for conscience died,—
Though modern history blight their fame,
And sneering courtiers hoot the name
Of men who dared alone be free,
Amidst a nation’s slavery;—
Yet long for them the poet’s lyre
Shall wake its notes of heavenly fire;

Their names shall nerve the patriot's hand,
Upraised to save a sinking land;
And piety shall learn to burn
With holier transports o'er their urn.*

Nay, so low did the tyrants stoop, that even the dead bodies of the Covenanters were not suffered to be decently interred. We have a remarkable instance of this in the case of Mr. James Wellwood, an intercommuned minister, who died at Perth in the beginning of April. No sooner did the report of his death reach the ears of the magistrates of that town, than they arrested his body, and ordered the militia to be raised. After much solicitation, the magistrates at length *condescended* to allow the relatives to inter the body in some place without their jurisdiction; but such of the inhabitants as accompanied the funeral, were apprehended and committed to prison.

Notwithstanding the vigilance of the authorities, both civil and military, many conventicles were kept throughout the country. One, in particular, which was held in the parish of Lesmahago on the 30th of March, proved the cause of much suffering to the

* Epistle to R. S. inserted in the Poetic Mirror for 1816, supposed to have been written by Sir Walter Scott.

people in Lanarkshire. A party of the military having been sent to disperse this meeting, a scuffle ensued, in which the Covenanters proved victorious, and the assailants were compelled to retire in disgrace. This, together with the murder of two soldiers at Loudon Hill by government spies,* which, most unjustly, was laid to the charge of the Presbyterians, furnished the council with a new excuse for inflicting greater cruelties on the Covenanters throughout the length and breadth of the land.

As a specimen of the violent acts of the council against conventicles, we shall transcribe the following:—"The lords of his majesty's privy council, considering that it is notour that there is a party who continue in arms, and follow Welsh, Cameron, and some other of their accomplices, at their several conventicles, do therefore give warrant to the Earl of Linlithgow, major-general and commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces, to order a commanded party of his majesty's forces, horse, foot, and dragoons, to pros-

* Wodrow has satisfactorily shown that this murder was committed by none of the Covenanters, but by a tinker of the name of Scarlet, who had formerly been in the troop of horse commanded by Carstairs. Hist., vol. iii. p. 37.

ecute and follow that party into whatsoever place Welsh, Cameron, Kid, or Douglas keep field conventicles, or any other whom that standing party follows; with power to the commander of that party to give money for intelligence where those conventicles are appointed, that thereby they may be liable to seize and apprehend such as shall be found at the said conventicles; and in case of resistance, to pursue them to the death; declaring the said officers and soldiers shall not be called in question therefor civilly or criminally." (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 39.)

This act requires no comment. But the laws of the council were not more infamous than was their conduct. To be religious was to be a fanatic; and nothing could so effectually convince these *upright* judges of the anti-fanaticism of the accused, than a profane or profligate expression. The following circumstance will fully corroborate this statement. The parish of Wiston, in Clydesdale, having become vacant, a very unpopular candidate was presented; but on the day of his admission, the people chased the curate and his company from the church. A lady in the parish, who was suspected of having instigated the tumult, was summoned before

the council. When she appeared at the bar, and her libel had been read over, the chancellor asked her if the charges were true; to which she replied, "The devil one word is true in them." The lords stared on each other, and after a short pause, the chancellor told her that her cause was adjourned to a future day; but she was never more troubled. "Such virtue," says Kirkton, "there was in a short curse fully to satisfy such governors; and many thought it good policy to demonstrate themselves to be honest profane people, that they might vindicate themselves of the dangerous suspicion of being Presbyterians." (Kirkton's MS. History.)

Among the numerous agents of the prelates and council, none were more oppressive and cruel than William Carmichael, sheriff-depute of Fife, who acted under the eye and at the instigation of Sharpe. For several months he had carried on a furious persecution in that county against all whom he suspected to be favourable to Presbytery. Many of the heritors were intercommuned, their estates forfeited, and their wives and children tortured by means of burning matches, to extort from them a discovery of the places in which their husbands or fathers lay concealed. The brutality of this monster in

short was such, that nine of those heritors* resolved to inflict upon him an exemplary punishment as a warning to his brethren in iniquity, and the 3d of May was fixed upon for carrying their resolution into effect. Carmichael had devoted that day to hunting, but on receiving a hint that a plot was forming against him, he hastily abandoned his sport and returned home.†

The party having searched in vain for Carmichael till the middle of the day, were

* Russell mentions twelve, viz. David Hackston of Rathillet, John Balfour of Kinloch, James Russell in Kettle, George Fleming, Andrew and Alexander Henderson, William Daniel, James, Alexander, and George Balfour of Gilston, Thomas Ness, and Andrew Guillon. Of these, three seem to have left them in the morning. Kirkton, pp. 412—414.

† The following more particular statement of Carmichael's cruelties is copied from the original MS. account of Sharpe's death; "Mr. William Carmichell, some tymes merchant bailzie in Ed^r having spent all he had w^t harlots and in riotous living, gave in his very humble petition to Bishop Sharp, to be made sheriff-dep^t of fyffe; whose petition was accordingly granted, and instructions and orders given to him, to summond, fyne, imprison, punde, spoyle, and unlaw for absence, &c.: he not being content w^t the rigirous extent of his commission, tho y^t he should ingratiat himself mor in the Bishop's favors yn any oyr^s had or could do; and yrfor, he not only fyned, imprisoned, poyndit, plundered, &c. but lykwayes caused fix fired matches betwixt servants fingers yt they might discover qr ther m^{rs} were hyd; he caused beat and wound severall women and children and servants, and do many oyr insolences qch were to tidious and lamentable to relait."

on the eve of separating, when a boy informed them that Archbishop Sharpe was at Ceres, and would soon be at Blebo-hole, not far from the place, where they were assembled. This unexpected information struck them with the greatest surprise, and one of them, exclaiming, "It seems he is delivered into our hands," proposed to take away the life of "this arch-enemy and fountain of all their woe." This proposition was opposed by Hackston of Rathillet only, who insisted that a matter of so much importance to both church and state ought to be the subject of greater consideration. Finding them however to be inflexible, he yielded so far as to accompany them, but decidedly refused to be their leader, alleging that having a private quarrel with the primate, he could not in conscience take an active part in their present proceedings. They accordingly rode forward to Magus moor, about two miles from St. Andrews, where they descried the bishop's coach. One of the party casting away his cloak, instantly pursued, and overtaking the carriage, cried, "Judas be taken!" The only answer which Sharpe returned was a vehement and reiterated cry to the postilion to "drive!" In vain did the postilion

endeavour, by renewed exertion, to obey the command of his master; one of the pursuers outriding the coach, cut the traces and dismounted the servants, leaving the primate at the mercy of his enemies.

The whole party being now come up, Balfour of Kinlock ordered Sharpe to come out, that his daughter, who was with him in the carriage, might receive no injury. Refusing to comply with this order, several shots were fired at the coach, which not taking effect, Balfour reiterated his command. Trembling for his life, the bishop earnestly cried for mercy, to which Balfour replied, "I take God to witness, whose cause I desire to own in adhering to the persecuted gospel, that it is not out of any hatred to your person, nor from any prejudice you have done or could do to me, that I intend to take your life, but because you have been, and still continue to be an avowed opposer of the gospel and kingdom of Christ, and a murderer of his saints, whose blood you have shed like water." Another of the party having cried, "Repent, Judas, and come out," Sharpe vehemently exclaimed, "Gentlemen, save my life, and I will save yours." "I know," replied the leader, "it is not in your power

either to save us or to kill us ; I again declare, it is not any particular quarrel I have at you which thus moves me to this attempt, but because you are an enemy to Christ and his interest, and have wrung your hands in the blood of the saints, not only after Pentland, but several times since, and particularly for your perjury and shedding the blood of James Mitchell, and having a hand in the death of James Learmont, and your perfidious betraying of the church of Scotland : these crimes, and that blood, cry with a loud voice to heaven for vengeance, and we are this day to execute it."

As a last resource, the primate offered them a sum of money ; but he was answered with the words of Peter to Simon the sorcerer, "Thy money perish with thee," and an exhortation to prepare for judgment and eternity. The bishop still refusing to come forth, one of the assassins cried, "Seeing there have been so many lives unjustly taken by him, for which there is not the least shadow of repentance, we will not be innocent if any more be taken that way." Finding all their orders to him to leave the carriage to be ineffectual, another shot was fired ; upon which the primate came out,

crying, "for God's sake to save his life, and he would lay down his Episcopal functions." But all his entreaties were in vain. Refusing to make any other preparation for death but the repeated cry for mercy,* the assassins fired and wounded him in several places of his body. Believing him to be dead they were preparing to retire, when one of them overhearing his daughter say, "Oh there is life in him yet," they returned and despatched him with their swords.† They then disarmed the servants, and carried off their arms, together with the bishop's papers.

* In the account published by authority, Sharpe is represented as having acted in the most pious manner. From the uniform character of the man the reader is left to judge which of the accounts seems to be most consistent with truth.

† It is very singular that the manner of the bishop's death has been generally alluded to by historians as a literal interpretation of his dream, while a student at the university. The dream was shortly this: at that period, when lying in bed with a fellow student, "he fell into a loud laughter in his sleep, and being awakened by his bed-fellow, who asked him what he laughed so much for? replied, that he had dreamed that the Earl of Crawford had made him parson of Crail. Again, in another night, he laughed in his sleep still more loudly, when being awakened in like manner, he said he had dreamed he was in paradise, as the king had made him archbishop of St. Andrews. Lastly, he dreamed a third time, and was in great agony, crying bitterly, when being awakened as formerly, he said, he was dreaming a very sad dream, that he was driving in a coach to hell, and that very fast." See Kirkton, p. 82.

Among these papers were the following: "A gift of non-entries of several gentlemen's estates in Fife and elsewhere, to Alexander Leslie of Kinninvie, with instructions and informations how to prosecute, in order to the eviction of the lands; the patent of the bishopric of Dunkeld in favour of Mr. Andrew Bruce, archdeacon of St. Andrews: several presentations of curates to churches by the king; instructions to conjunct deputies, and new gifts of the heritor's fines; a paper concerning the establishing of popery; and several missives."* Although all this took place at mid-day, in a country full of military, yet they received no interruption. Mounting their horses, they deliberately rode off to a place about four miles distant, where they remained till the evening examining the bishop's papers, and then separated.†

Thus perished Archbishop Sharpe, whose

* It may be amusing to notice the following curious story of the *humble bee*, as related by those who were present: "They," the assassins, "took nothing from the bishop but his tobacco box and a few papers. With these they went to a barn near by. Upon the opening of the tobacco box a living *humming-bee* flew out. This either Rathillet or Balfour called his familiar; and some in the company, not understanding the term, they explained it to be a devil!" Sharp's Kirkton, p. 421.

† Original MS. account of the Archbishop's death. Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 49. Mem. of Veitch, p. 105.

death, it is evident from the preceding narrative, was quite unpremeditated, and was the result of his own perfidy and cruelty. But though the primate evidently deserved to die, in a legal manner, the death of a murderer, we can by no means admit the principle that private individuals may execute the law at their own hand. The assassination of Sharpe we therefore unhesitatingly pronounce to be quite unwarrantable, and as such it was viewed by the great body of the Presbyterians at that very time.* It is consequently both unfair and ungenerous to charge the Covenanters in general with the crime of which the assassins alone were guilty. It is true that many of them afterwards, when inquisitorially interrogated by military men or judges, refused to pronounce the bishop's death to be murder. But it will not follow that they either justified or approved of his assassination. Such illegal and ensnaring questions were resisted, to use the words of an eminent writer, "as an in-

* We are aware that *individuals* did uphold the lawfulness of taking away the life of a cruel tyrant whom no law could reach—(see Shield's *Hind Let Loose*)—but these sentiments were not held by the Covenanters in general, their principles being directly opposed to any such doctrine.

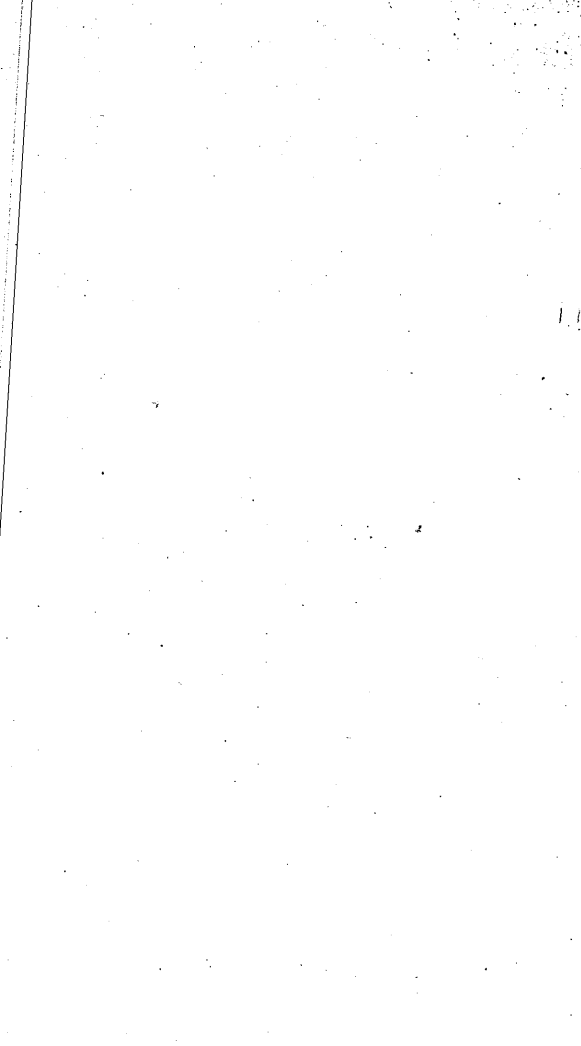
fringement of their liberties, inconsistent with the principles of justice, and obliging them judicially to disclose their private sentiments, and to pronounce sentence on the conduct of others." (McCrie's Review of Tales of My Landlord, p. 158.)

We must say, however, that while the assassination of Sharpe is to be condemned, so ought other murders equally, if not much more atrocious. His death has so completely occupied the attention, and furnished materials for the pens of writers on the side of Episcopacy, that they find no room for the account of the murder of Andrew Ayton, younger of Inchdairnie, which was committed on that very day in the same county. This young gentleman had been intercommunicated when only seventeen years of age, for his adherence to Presbyterian principles. Having visited his father that day, he was returning to Auchtermuchty, when he observed a party of dragoons advancing, whom wishing to avoid, he turned his horse and rode quickly off in another direction. One of the dragoons immediately pursued, and without asking him a single question, shot him through the body. With great difficulty he reached the next house, where he obtain-

ed a bed, and a servant was despatched to Cupar for a surgeon. But instead of a medical man being allowed to attend the dying youth, a party of the military was despatched to convey him to Cupar. In vain did his relative Sir John Ayton remonstrate against removing him at present, or even offer bail for his appearance when required: he was set on horseback, hurried away that night, and died the following day at twelve o'clock. (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 56.)

Atrocities like these—and this is but one instance of many—may be passed over by those who can make every apology for the oppressors, but none for the oppressed; but if retaliation be condemned on the one side it ought not to be justified on the other. The mere circumstance of wearing the livery of a tyrant can never cancel the guilt of those numerous murders which at that very period were committed on those whose only crime consisted in their refusing to abjure the faith of their fathers. The following are the reflections of that judicious historian Aikman on this subject:—"If, under such circumstances, retaliation were threatened, and sometimes justified, it would be difficult to point out any law of nature or of God, by

which moral guilt could be attached to the private avenger of blood, in a nation where assassination was sanctioned by statute, where hospitality was a capital crime, and common courtesy punishable by death;—where to petition was treason, where to talk of legal redress was the certain road to a jail, and to utter a complaint was, in the phrase of the country, to sign one's own banishment. Yet I do not know that the wildest Covenanters ever attempted to justify the execution of righteous judgment by private men, on any other grounds than extreme necessity, which forced them to fall upon such expedients to prevent their utter extermination, or that they ever extenuated such extremities by any other plea than that of oppression, which, inspiration itself saith, maketh a wise man mad." (Aikman's Hist. vol. iv. p. 632.) Let it be kept in mind, however, that even oppression, though it may cause a temporary aberration, does not convert a wise man into a madman.





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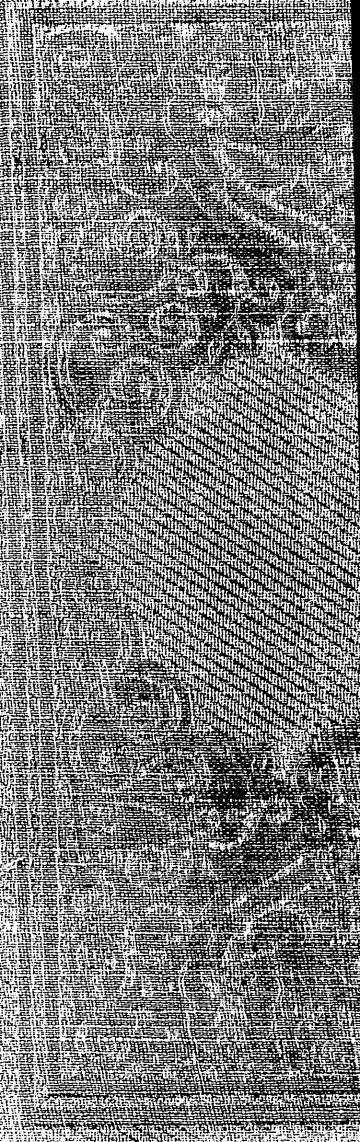
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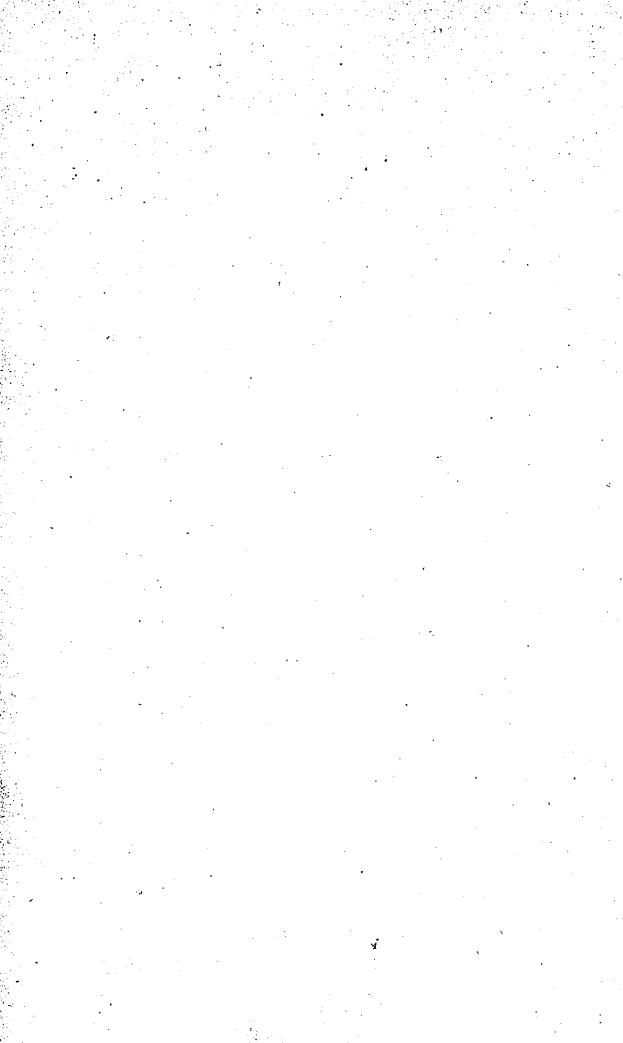
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HISTORY
OF
THE COVENANTERS

IN
SCOTLAND.

BY THE
AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION, ETC.

William Simms

~~~~~  
"Thy persecuted children, Scotia, foiled  
"A tyrant's and a bigot's bloody laws."  
~~~~~

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. II.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRESBYTERIAN BOARD OF PUBLICATION.

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HISTORY

OF

THE COVENANTERS.

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Proclamation against conventicles and the assassins of Sharpe—dreadful sufferings of the Presbyterians—their proceedings at Rutherglen—Claverhouse apprehends Mr. King—he is defeated at Drumclog—the Covenanters march to Glasgow, where they are repulsed—absurd proclamation of the council—disputes among the Covenanters—Duke of Monmouth appointed to command the forces against them—position of the two armies—battle of Bothwell—Covenanters completely routed—barbarous treatment of the prisoners—savage conduct of Claverhouse—trial and execution of Messrs. Kid and King—other five of the prisoners put to death at Magus Moor—bond of peace—two hundred and fifty Covenanters shipped for America—they are wrecked at Orkney—renewed persecution in the south and west—circuit courts of justiciary—Duke of York arrives in Edinburgh—M'Ward's remarks on his reception in that city.

INTELLIGENCE of the assassination of Sharpe having reached Edinburgh on the 4th of May, the privy council assembled, and issued a furious proclamation not only against the individuals concerned, but the whole body of the Presbyterians. Having stigmatized the deed as exceeding in cruelty “the barbarity of pagans and heathens,” they absurdly enough add, “daily instances whereof

we are to expect, whilst field conventicles, those rendezvouses of rebellion, and forges of all bloody and jesuitical principles, are so frequently followed." A reward of ten thousand merks was next offered for the apprehension of the assassins, in order to discover whom, every person in the county of Fife was ordered to appear at a certain place, on a given day, to be confronted with the bishop's servants. The instructions which at the same time were given to the sheriff-deputies are too important to be passed over, namely, "That all males from sixteen years of age and upwards, in each Presbytery, meet on the days appointed: that all the minlsters be there, and bring with them the communion rolls: that they mark all of them who come not to church on the account of fanatic or popish principles, and that these be set aside: that all such as are of that tribe be examined and obliged to give an account where they were all the 3d of May, and that they prove what they say by sufficient witnesses: that such as cannot prove a good account of themselves, in manner foresaid, be secured, and their goods seized and secured till the issue of their trial: that such as shall be absent the said day be holden as

probably guilty of the horrid act," &c. These instructions being carried into execution with the utmost rigour, multitudes who knew nothing of the assassination except by report, were subjected to persecution, and robbed of whatever property they possessed.

Another proclamation was issued on the 8th of May, against travelling with arms without license; but the most disgraceful act which was published at this time was one against conventicles. The sanguinary statutes which had been enacted against these meetings had hitherto been executed only in part, but this *lenity* giving great offence to the prelates, orders were now given to the magistrates and military to show no mercy, but to persecute to death every genuine Covenanter throughout the realm. "After mature deliberation," says this disgraceful proclamation, "we have thought fit to declare that we will hereafter order the judges of our respective judicatures, and the officers of all our forces, to proceed against all such who go with any arms to those field meetings, as *traitors*. And lest any may pretend that by the just rigour we will use against such as go to conventicles in arms, we resolve to slacken our prosecution of

other field conventicles, we have, therefore, thought fit—to put our laws in vigorous execution even against those who frequent these field meetings *without arms*.” (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 59.)—The framing of this horrid enactment was the last public deed in which Sharpe was engaged, it having been passed in the council on the 1st of the month, and transmitted to the king for his approbation; “and so,” adds Wodrow, “we may reckon this the primate’s legacy.”

The dreadful scenes which followed, by the execution of these barbarous measures, almost exceed belief. “The Presbyterians,” says the author of the *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*, “suffered extremities that tongue cannot describe, and which heart can hardly conceive of, from the dismal circumstances of hunger, nakedness, &c.—lying in damp caves, and in hollow clefts of the naked rocks, without shelter, covering, fire or food, none durst harbour, entertain, relieve, or speak to them upon pain of death. Many, for venturing to speak to them, were forced to fly to them, and several put to death for no other offence; fathers were persecuted for supplying their children, and children for nourishing their parents; husbands for har-

bouring their wives, and wives for cherishing their own husbands. The ties and obligations of the laws of nature were no defence, but it was made death to perform natural duties; and many suffered death for acts of piety and charity, in cases where human nature could not bear the thoughts of suffering it."

In consequence of these tyrannical proceedings, the numbers who attended conventicles greatly increased; and, instead of assembling in small parties, as the majority of the Covenanters had done formerly, they drew together in large bodies, with a view to greater safety. When attacked by the military they of course stood on their defence, but if unmolested, they committed no aggressions, and after sermon separated in peace. Those who frequented these meetings, were, in general, averse both to the indulgence and to those who had accepted of it, whom they considered as little better than the curates. At one of these assemblies, Mr. Robert Hamilton,* brother of Sir William Hamilton of Preston, proposed to

* Hamilton was not a preacher, as is erroneously stated by Laing and several other historians. Burnet, (vol. ii. p. 819,) in the true Episcopalian style, calls him "a crack brain enthusiast."

publish a testimony against the defections of the times; (Hind Let Loose, p. 139,) which being acquiesced in, he proceeded to Rutherglen with eighty men, on the 29th of May, and having burned the obnoxious acts of parliament, affixed the following declaration to the market cross: "As the Lord hath been pleased still to keep and preserve his interest in this land, by the testimonies of some faithful witnesses from the beginning; so, in our day, some have not been wanting, who, through the greatest hazards, have added their testimony to those who have gone before them, by suffering death, banishment, torturings, forfeitures, imprisonments, and what not, from a perfidious and cruel adversary to the church and kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in the land: therefore we, owning the same interest of Christ, according to the word of the Lord, and the national and solemn league and covenants, desire to add our testimony to the testimonies of the worthies that have gone before us; and that against all things done prejudicial to his interest, from the beginning of the work of reformation, especially from 1648 to 1660, but more particularly from the said year 1660 and downwards,

against the acts following; the act of supremacy," &c. The various statutes framed against the Covenanters are then enumerated. "And we give our testimony against all sinful and unlawful acts, emitted and executed, published and prosecuted by them against our covenanted reformation. And for the confirmation of this our testimony, we do here this day, being the 29th of May, 1679, publicly and most justly burn the foresaid acts at this cross of Rutherglen, being the chief burgh of the nether ward of Clydesdale, as they perfidiously and blasphemously have burned our holy covenants through several cities of these covenanted kingdoms." (Informatory Vindication, pp. 6, 88. Wilson's Relation, p. 73.)

While these bold proceedings enraged the council, Graham, of Claverhouse,* who had

* The name and deeds of this officer are so well known, that it is scarcely necessary to give any character of him here. In the course of the history we shall have but too much occasion to advert to some of his feats, which, in ferocity, cruelty, and revenge, so far exceeded those of Turner, Bannatyne, or Dalryell, that long after the revolution he was well known throughout the country by the name of *Bloody Claver'se*. Even Sir Walter Scott, notwithstanding his distorted and unfair description, both of the persecutors and the persecuted, is compelled to admit that, in Claverhouse, "under a soft exterior, was hidden a spirit unbounded in daring and in aspiring, yet cautious and prudent as that of Machiavel himself. Profound in politics, and imbued,

signalized himself for some time past by his zeal in executing their orders against the Presbyterians, marched from Glasgow with a party of horse and foot to avenge the affront. Having reached the town of Ham-

of course, with that disregard for individual rights which its intrigues usually generate, this leader was cool and collected in danger, fierce and ardent in pursuing success, careless of death himself, and ruthless in inflicting it upon others."—*Tales of My Landlord*, vol. ii. pp. 287, 288. It is not a little surprising that the same author, who gave to the world such a caricature of the Covenanters as the novel from which we have made the above quotation presents, should be believed to have written the lines following, which appeared in the *Poetic Mirror* :—

"There, worthy of his masters, came
The despot's champion, *Bloody Graham*,
To stain for aye a warrior's sword,
And lead a fierce though fawning horde,
The human bloodhounds of the earth,
To hunt the peasant from his hearth!
—Tyrants! could not misfortune teach,
That man has rights beyond your reach?
Thought ye the torture and the stake,
Could that intrepid spirit break,
Which even in woman's breast withstood
The terrors of the fire and flood?"

The unqualified eulogiums of Chambers on this infamous and cruel officer, together with that author's unfounded and unsparing invectives against the eminent men whom he took delight in butchering even in cold blood, are quite unworthy of notice, and leave a foul stain on the work in which they are contained. Let all such writers, however, remember that the doctrines of the persecuted Covenanters are the doctrines of the Church of Scotland, and of every true Presbyterian at the present day.

ilton on Saturday the 31st, he surprised Mr. John King, an intercommuned minister, and fourteen unarmed countrymen, who were waiting to attend a large meeting which was to be held next day at Loudon Hill. To this meeting Claverhouse resolved next to proceed; and binding the prisoners two and two together, he marched forward early on Sabbath morning, driving them before him like so many sheep. Public worship was begun by Mr. Thomas Douglas, when the congregation were informed of the approach of Claverhouse. About forty horse, and a hundred and fifty or two hundred foot, immediately drew up, resolving to prevent the meeting being dispersed, and, if possible, to rescue the prisoners. They were commanded by Mr. Hamilton, who, although honest in the cause, was destitute of military experience, and too contracted in his views, as well as uncomplying and overbearing in his temper. The bravery of the men, however, supplied at this time any defects in the commander. Having come up with Claverhouse at a place called Drumclog, they received his first fire with firmness, and then discharging their pieces, attacked their assailants sword in hand. The combat was short;

in a few minutes, the soldiers were completely defeated, and the prisoners rescued. In this rencontre upwards of thirty of the military were killed, a considerable number taken prisoners, who were disarmed and dismissed, and Claverhouse himself, after having his horse shot under him, narrowly escaped. The loss on the Covenanters' side was trifling, two or three only being killed, and a few wounded.*

Aware of the danger to which they were now exposed, a consultation was held by the Covenanters, whether they should disperse or continue in arms. Preferring the latter alternative, from the dread of the severe revenge which the government would take they marched that night to Hamilton and the next day to Glasgow. Information of the skirmish, however, had already reached that city, and the military there by entrenching themselves in the streets, were prepared for an attack. After a fruitless attempt to dislodge them, the Covenanters were obliged to

* Previous to this rencontre, Hamilton, on his own authority, issued orders to give no quarter; but this mandate was disregarded, and Hamilton takes the whole blame of it, or rather praise of it, to himself.—Howie's *Faithful Contendings*, p. 201. The same order was given by Claverhouse, and had his party been successful, a very different scene would have taken place. Wilson's *Relation*, p. 74. *Memoirs of Brysson*, p. 282.

retire with the loss of six or seven men ;* but being joined by a considerable number of the country people, they marched back to Hamilton and there fixed their camp.

On receiving an incorrect account of these transactions, the council, on the 3d of June, issued a proclamation, ordering "the rebels to lay down their arms and surrender themselves to the Earl of Linlithgow within twenty-four hours, or be treated as traitors, and rendered incapable of mercy ; prohibiting and discharging any person or persons to aid, assist, harbour, reset, or any ways supply the said rebels, under pain of treason ; and certifying masters of families, heritors, and landlords, that if any of their families, servants, or tenants join in the rebellion, they shall be looked upon as disaffected persons." No promise of indemnity being here made, the Covenanters were compelled either to continue their attempt to shake off the oppressive yoke under which they groaned, or submit their necks to the axe of the executioner. Several other proclamations followed, commanding the militia to be embodied, appoint-

* The dead bodies of these Covenanters were used with the greatest barbarity by Claverhouse and the soldiers. Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 71.

ing their places of rendezvous, and ordering all heritors "to attend the king's host."

In the mean time the troops at Glasgow abandoned that city and marched to Falkirk, where they were joined by the forces under the Earl of Linlithgow. Afraid of engaging with the Covenanters, the Earl, on the 6th of June, wrote to the council, that "being apprehensive of the dangerous consequences which may follow to his majesty's service if we engage mad zealots with such unequal numbers, the whole officers are of opinion that it is not safe to advance nearer the enemy, and conceive it best to retire to Stirling." The council, however, ordered the forces to repair to Edinburgh, and sent off an express to his majesty, requesting assistance from England.

The greater part of the west country being now in possession of the Covenanters, their numbers gradually increased, though it would appear that they never exceeded five thousand men. No plan, however, had been formed;* and a lamentable division at this

* If there had been any designs or preparations made formerly for a rebellion," says Burnet, "now they had time enough to run together and to form themselves; but it appeared that there had been no such designs." Hist. vol. ii. p. 820.

time took place, which ultimately proved the ruin of the undertaking. Hamilton and those who had been called to take the lead in the sudden and unpremeditated affair of Drumclog, still considered themselves entitled to retain their command, and without waiting for their brethren who afterwards joined them, they proceeded to state the grounds of their quarrel. Upon the arrival of the latter, a difference of opinion took place, which issued in a dispute that admitted of no accommodation. Hamilton and his adherents insisted that all the defections of church and state, and especially the acceptance of the indulgence, should be expressly condemned in the declaration which they intended to publish. (*Informatory Vindication*, p. 7. *Hind Let Loose*, p. 140.) This was opposed by many who had joined them since the skirmish at Drumclog, who pointed out the impropriety of such a measure at that time, as tending to prevent others from joining them who were friendly to Presbytery, and proposed that the determination of this point should be reserved to a free General Assembly.

When the cause of their assembling and continuing in arms came to be debated at a

meeting of their officers, which they called a "council of war," Hamilton and several others were desirous of framing their declaration agreeably to that which had been published at Rutherglen. The other party, again, contended that the king's authority ought to be expressly owned, according to the third article of the solemn league and covenant. This was opposed by Hamilton, who argued that "though they made no declaration *against* the king, yet considering what he had done against the interest of Christ, they ought not to make any positive declaration *for* him." The opponents of Hamilton prevailed, however, so far as to obtain the publication of a paper at Glasgow on the 13th of June, entitled the "Hamilton Declaration," in which the points contended against by the other side were inserted. But this measure only added fuel to the flame, and threatened to break up the camp, and entail ruin on the whole army.

Although there were no indulged ministers in the camp, (Howie's Collection, Preface, p. 5,) yet Hamilton and his adherents accused Mr. Welsh, and those who took the more liberal side, of approving of the indulgence, and inclining to Erastianism. (Wil-

son's Relation, p. 5. Faithful Contendings, p. 191.) Among eighteen ministers who were present, two only, namely, Messrs. Thomas Douglas and Donald Cargill, defended the sentiments of Hamilton;* and though they and their adherents certainly acted the more consistent part, yet in the present state of affairs their unbending tenaciousness was most unwise. It weakened the hands of the little army, split them into parties, and materially reduced their numbers. The leaders continued their lamentable dissensions till the advance of the king's army, thus wasting in strife and recrimination the precious time which they ought to have devoted to active preparation for the contest.

The request of the privy council for reinforcements from England having been immediately granted by Charles, the Duke of Monmouth, as commander-in-chief, arrived with a reinforcement of English troops at Edinburgh on the 18th of June, and next day marched westward, and joined the army at Kirkhillpark, which with the new auxili-

* Wilson adds Messrs. King and Kid, but it seems evident that they acquiesced in the views taken by Mr. Welsh.

aries, now amounted to about ten thousand men. His advance to Hamilton was slow; for though Lauderdale and the prelates had procured instructions to be sent after him, ordering him not to treat with, but to destroy, the Presbyterians, he was desirous of affording them time to tender their submission. (Burnet, vol. ii. p. 821.) Their friends in Edinburgh, and the greater part of their own leaders, were also extremely anxious to come to an accommodation. But Hamilton and his party being dissatisfied with the proposals which were drawn up, these were not presented to the duke till the engagement was commenced.

The king's army came within sight on Saturday the 21st, and encamped in Bothwell moor; the Covenanters' army lay on the south side of the Clyde in a moor near Hamilton. The river was not fordable for a considerable way up, and the narrow bridge at Bothwell was in possession of the Presbyterians. Early on Sabbath morning, the 22d, a sharp skirmish took place between the guard at the bridge and a detachment of the royal forces; but at the request of the Covenanters a cessation took place, and messengers were permitted to go over and lay

their supplication before Monmouth. The duke at first seemed inclined to favour them; but at the instigation of several Scottish noblemen, (Blackader's Mem., p. 245,) he dismissed the messengers with the following answer: "That he would not treat with them till they laid down their arms and submitted to the king's mercy."* Half an hour was allowed for the return of an answer; but scarcely had the messengers reached the bridge before the royal army advanced. The party who guarded the bridge defended it with the greatest resolution and bravery for upwards of two hours, during which time the duke's forces were twice repulsed, and even driven from their cannon, which that determined little band would have seized had they been suitably supported. (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 106. Ure's Narrative.) At length, upon the failure of their ammunition, they despatched a messenger to Hamilton, requesting him either to furnish them with a new supply, or send to their assistance a fresh detachment of troops.† But to their

* When this answer was conveyed to Hamilton, he replied,—“and hang next.” Ure's Narrative.

† Wilson's Relation, p. 37.—It ought to be stated as some extenuation of Hamilton's conduct, that on opening a barrel of gunpowder, which had been ordered from a

astonishment, Hamilton, most ungeneral-like, ordered them to leave the bridge and fall back on the main body of the army.

No sooner was this unwise and fatal order given, and the bridge abandoned, than the king's troops marched over and attacked the Covenanters. The whole west country army was immediately thrown into confusion, and in a few minutes completely routed. The murderous scene which followed was truly dismal, the military putting to death every one without distinction who fell into their hands. Four hundred were left dead on the field on that fatal day, and twelve hundred taken prisoners, among whom were Messrs. King and Kid. The slaughter would have been much greater had not the humanity of the duke far exceeded that of the inferior officers. Many who had no concern in the rising were murdered in cold blood on the public roads; nay, Claverhouse inhumanly proposed to kill the prisoners, burn Glasgow and Hamilton, and destroy the surrounding country; but this horrid proposal was indignantly rejected by Monmouth.* "Yet though

merchant in Hamilton, it proved to be a barrel of *raisins*! Whether this originated from treachery or mistake, could be never ascertained. Blackader's Mem., p. 244.

* Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 112. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 822.—

the retreat was sounded, Claverhouse and the English dragoons were so cruelly set for blood and murder, that they could not be restrained, till they were compelled by force of some parties sent out by the duke for that purpose." (Blackader's Mem. p. 248.)

Thus terminated a contest which, by the majority of historians, has been branded with the name of a *rebellion*. But if the covenanters at Bothwell, in taking up arms to defend themselves against intolerable oppression, and to assert their just liberties, were guilty of rebellion, so were the parliaments of both kingdoms at the Revolution. These unsuccessful patriots are also condemned for having admitted into their army several of the assassins of Archbishop Sharpe: but it is satisfactorily proved that till the battle of Bothwell it was not generally known that they were in the camp; even Mr. King was ignorant that Burley and Rathillet were accessory to the commission of that deed.

Notwithstanding the humanity of the commander, the inferior officers treated the pri-

The last author adds, that when Monmouth returned to London, the king told him, that if he had been at Bothwell, "they should not have had the trouble of prisoners!"

soners with the most wanton barbarity. They were stripped almost naked, and ordered to lie flat on the ground, while those who lifted up their heads to implore a little water were shot dead on the spot. Being tied two and two together, they were then driven to Edinburgh like a flock of cattle, and exposed to sufferings at which humanity recoils. Even a cup of cold water to quench their thirst was denied them, and when some sympathizing females attempted to give them a little refreshment, the brutal soldiery trampled the provisions beneath their feet, and poured the water on the ground. In this truly pitiable condition the prisoners entered Edinburgh, and were confined in the Greyfriars' churchyard, without any shelter, under a strong guard.

In the meanwhile Claverhouse and the military oppressed the west country in the most cruel manner. Fines, tortures, and murders, without any discrimination, marked the track of that champion for tyranny. To enter into a detail of his barbarities would display a scene no less revolting than dismal: for if the simple lending of a plough to a man who was *suspected* to have been at Bothwell furnished this *hero* with an excuse

for robbing the lender of his little all, (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 122,) what must have been the lot of those whom he chose to accuse of *higher offences*? Passing, therefore, at present, the ravages and cruelties which he committed in Ayrshire and Galloway, we shall now revert to the proceedings of the council.

A proclamation was issued by the council on the 26th June, against those who had escaped at Bothwell, which though unreasonably severe, might be expected as a matter of course; but their prohibiting "all subjects, whether men or women, from harbouring, resetting, supplying, corresponding with, or concealing any of the rebels," and declaring, "their failing to pursue all such as the worst of traitors," to be an evidence that they themselves were "accessory to the rebellion," displayed a spirit of tyranny nothing behind that evinced by the most despotic government that ever existed on the face of the earth. It is true that a kind of a short-lived indemnity and indulgence was published in the month of July; but the former excluded all Covenanters, and the latter was scarcely issued when it was recalled. (Burnet, vol. ii. p. 823.)

On the 4th of July the council received a letter from Charles, giving them directions regarding the disposal of the prisoners. In this letter his majesty says, "We do require you to try out for such among all the prisoners as can most probably discover the rise and occasion of this rebellion, the means by which it was carried on, &c. For discovering of all which, we do ordain you to offer them our royal pardon, if they discover and make out their information, and that you put them to the torture if they refuse to inform in what you have pregnant presumptions to believe they know. When this is done, we do in the next place approve the motion made by you, of sending three or four hundred of these prisoners to the plantations, for which we authorize you to grant a warrant in order to their transportation. It is likewise our pleasure that you cause prosecute as traitors immediately, the heritors, ministers, and ringleaders of this rebellion, those only excepted who shall discover in manner above related." (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 116.) Agreeably to this letter the council drew up the following bond, which they presented to a number of the prisoners: "I, being apprehended for being at the late *rebel-*

lion, and whereas the lords of his majesty's privy council, in pursuance of his majesty's command, have ordained me to be set at liberty, I enacting myself to the effect under written; therefore I bind, oblige, and enact myself, in the books of the privy council, that hereafter I shall not take up arms without or against his majesty or his authority." This bond, which required the subscribers to acknowledge the rising at Bothwell to be rebellion, and prohibited them from defending themselves by arms, notwithstanding the sufferings to which they might unjustly be exposed, was rejected by a great number of the prisoners. Many of those who subscribed it were liberated only to endure greater miseries from the lawless military, while others of them were detained in confinement, to be banished to the plantations along with those who steadfastly refused to purchase their freedom at the expense of their conscience. (*Hind Let Loose*, p. 142.)

But the resolution of the council to transport as slaves a great number of the prisoners was not sufficient. Seven of them were selected for trial with the previous determination of putting them to death. Of these Messrs. Kid and King were the first who

were condemned. Having been examined as to the origin of the rising, and their answers not being deemed satisfactory, they were first put to the torture, and then indicted before the justiciary court, "for having been in the rebellion and preaching at field conventicles." Their request to be permitted to adduce an exculpatory proof was refused, and they were condemned—on no other evidence than their own confession extorted by the torture—to be executed on the 14th of August. As if to mock the people, that day had been fixed upon to proclaim an indemnity, not for the Presbyterians, but for their persecutors.* This ceremony being finished with great pomp, the two martyrs were brought forth, and executed agreeably to their sentence, their heads and their right hands being cut off and fixed

* That this indemnity was chiefly intended to screen Lauderdale and his friends is evident from the defences of Hatton against whom a process was raised in 1682 for malversations as late general of the mint. In these defences it was pleaded that he was discharged and pardoned by the general indemnity; for "this oblivion and indemnity in 1679 is more ample than any of them, being drawn in the most ample and comprehensive terms deviseable, as mainly designed to secure Lauderdale and his party for the Highland army that they sent in upon the west in 1678, &c. and the *pardoning the rebels who rose at Bothwell Bridge, was but a sham and colour to draw on the other.*"—Fountainhall's Decisions, i. p. 208.

on the Netherbow port. In his dying speech on the scaffold, Mr. Kid said, "For personal presence with that party whom they called *rebels*, for my part I never judged them or called them such. I acknowledge there were a great many there who came in the simplicity of their hearts; and I am sure, on the other hand, there was a great party there that had nothing before them but repairing of the Lord's fallen down work, and restoring of the breach which is wide as the sea. But for rebellion against his majesty's person or lawful authority, the Lord knows my soul abhorreth it. I have lived in the faith of this, that the three kingdoms are married lands; and I die in the faith of it, that there will be a resurrection of his name, word, cause, covenants, and of all his interests therein: though I dare not determine the time when, or the manner how." Mr. King having expressed himself to the same purpose, concluded his speech in the following affecting manner: "Now I bid farewell to all my friends and dear relations; farewell my poor wife and child, whom I leave on the good hand of him who is better than seven husbands, and will be a father to the fatherless. Farewell all creature-comforts,

and welcome everlasting life, everlasting glory, everlasting love, and everlasting praise." (Naphtali, p. 455, et seq.)

The other five prisoners who were selected to suffer death, not so much on account of their being present at Bothwell, as on pretence that they approved of the bishop's assassination, were Thomas Brown, Andrew Sword, John Clyde, James Wood, and John Waddel. It was not even so much as alleged that they had any hand in the archbishop's death; but having refused when called upon to declare it to be *murder*, and acknowledging that they were at Bothwell, they were condemned to be executed at Magus-moor, for the purpose of marking "the king's detestation" of the deed which was there committed. The following are the exact words of their sentence:—"That they be carried to the moor of Magus, in the sheriffdom of Fife, the place where his grace the archbishop of St. Andrews was murdered, upon the 18th of November instant, and there to be hanged till they be dead, and their bodies to be hung in chains till they rot, and all their lands, goods, and gear, to fall to his majesty's use." (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 140.) Four of them had never been in Fife, nor had ever seen a

bishop to their knowledge ; and James Wood, though at Bothwell, had no arms on that fatal day.

Agreeably to their sentence, they were executed at Magus-moor on the 25th of November, leaving a joint as well as an individual testimony to the cause for which they suffered. When on the scaffold they addressed the spectators in the following language : “ We desire you all not to cast a reproach on that late appearing at Bothwell bridge, lest ye state God an enemy against you, for we bless him, that ever he fell upon such a method with the like of us, as to make us appear for so honourable a cause as that. We give our joint witness and testimony against Popery, Prelacy, and all other corruptions in these loose times, particularly against bishops, curates, and malignants, and all who connive with them in that black course they are in for the present, and strengthen the hands of the adversary in carrying on a course of defection. We give our testimony against that calumny cast upon Presbyterians, that they are not loyal to their king, which aspersion as false we abhor ; so we desire you to obey your king in all his lawful commands, according as ye are bound in the word of God and

your covenants; but when God's laws and the king's laws are contrary one to another, do not stretch your consciences for the sake of your life. Likewise we give our testimony against the taking of unlawful bonds or declarations for the saving of the life, for which cause we come here to lay down our lives, even for refusing to take such bonds; we bless the Lord who hath kept us free from these things, and we hope to praise him through all eternity." (Naphtali, pp. 535, 536. Scots Worthies, p. 241.)

We have already seen the decided part which many of the prisoners in the Greyfriars' Church-yard acted in regard to the bond. Though urged to subscribe it by the ministers of Edinburgh, they decidedly refused; and after suffering for five months innumerable hardships, the greater part of them were ordered to be transported to Barbadoes and sold for slaves. On the 15th of November, accordingly, two hundred and fifty of these prisoners, among whom were several that had subscribed the bond, were put on board a vessel lying in Leith Roads. Here they remained lying at anchor for twelve days, during which time they were treated with the greatest cruelty. They were stowed

between decks like so many cattle, in a space hardly capable of containing a third part of them; and to add to their miseries, though nearly suffocated, they were denied a little air or a draught of cold water to allay the fever of thirst with which they were tormented. "All the trouble they met with before Bothwell," says one of the sufferers in a letter from the ship to his wife, "was not to be compared to one day in their present circumstances; their uneasiness was beyond words; yet he owned in very pathetical terms, that the consolations of God overbalanced all, and expressed his hopes that they were near their port, and heaven open for them." (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 131.) Having sailed on the 27th, they with difficulty arrived at the Orkneys on the 10th of December, where they were overtaken by a fearful tempest. The barbarous captain, who by the bye was a papist, immediately ordered the hatches to be nailed down, lest any of the prisoners should escape; and in the course of the night, the ship having struck upon a rock, he and the crew provided for their own safety, regardless of the heart-rending cries of the prisoners, who besought him in vain to order the hatches to be opened.

One of the seamen more humane than his fellows, at the risk of his life, returned to the ship, and with an axe cut a hole in the deck, by means of which about fifty escaped, but the remainder, amounting to two hundred persons, sunk to the bottom in the vessel, from which they had been so cruelly deprived of the means of escape ! (Crookshank, vol. ii. p. 37. Hind Let Loose, p. 142.)

That so foul a murder was suffered to pass with impunity can excite no surprise, seeing it was only a more summary method than that pursued by the government for getting rid of the Covenanters.* Nay the fate of these prisoners was enviable compared with that of their brethren whom they had left behind them ; for while the former were now beyond the reach of their enemies, the latter were suffered to return home, only to be plundered, robbed and tortured anew by a lawless military.

In all these oppressions, Claverhouse and his troops acted a conspicuous part. The country was now parcelled out into lots consisting of from one to three parishes, in each

* The captain, instead of being called to account for the barbarous murder of so many individuals, was afterwards indemnified for the loss which he had sustained by the wreck.

of which the movables of those who had been at Bothwell were conferred on individuals among the nobility and military. Claverhouse of course was rewarded with a large district, which he plundered with the greatest rapacity, robbing of their property, not only the individuals who had taken up arms against tyranny, but all whom he suspected of entertaining for them the smallest favour. (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 121.)

In order still further to facilitate the ruin of the Presbyterians in the west country, circuit courts were appointed, with powers "to prosecute with the utmost rigour, all suppliers, intercommuners or corresponders with the rebels who had been at Bothwell," and to forfeit and burn in effigy those who did not appear upon citation. The clerks of court were ordered to make preparations for the trial of delinquents, by taking up the names of all who were suspected of being connected with the rising or resorting to field conventicles, and to give in a minute account of their property and effects to the court. These lists, which were entitled the "Porteous-rolls," were filled with the names not only of such as had been at Bothwell, but with those of multitudes who had no con-

cern whatever with that affair. The chief informers were the curates, who suffered almost none of the Presbyterians to escape, but gave up to the clerks the names of all who had evinced the smallest dislike to Prelacy. The rolls were consequently soon filled, and no name was permitted to be erased, however satisfactorily the accused might establish his innocence, unless he satisfied the informers by a composition little short of all that he possessed.

The circuit courts were opened with great solemnity at Glasgow, Ayr, Wigton, and Dumfries; and the witnesses and juries having been previously summoned to attend, their lordships proceeded to examine the cases of delinquents, according to the rolls. All who did not appear were denounced as fugitives; many of them were forfeited, and their estates conferred on gentlemen or officers in the army. Such heritors as obeyed the citation were imprisoned, and those among the common people who subscribed the bond when presented to them, were for the present dismissed. (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 145.)

During these arbitrary and disgraceful proceedings the council received information

that the Duke of York intended to visit Scotland. Great preparations were consequently made for the reception of that bigoted papist; and on the 24th of November he entered Edinburgh with great pomp, and was splendidly entertained at the expense of the city. He was immediately admitted a member of the privy council, without taking the oaths, his majesty having commanded him to be exempted as being so nearly allied to royalty. Although the Duke, from political motives, did not, during this short visit, appear as an open persecutor of the Presbyterians, yet at his instigation the council proceeded with redoubled vigour in the work of oppression, and new plans were formed for still greater cruelties to be afterwards inflicted.

The flattering reception of the Duke of York justly alarmed the Covenanters, who trembled for the advancement of a Popish successor to the throne. As a specimen of the ardent and enthusiastic love of civil liberty, combined with zeal for the Protestant religion, which inflamed their breasts, we shall make the following quotation from a letter written from the continent at this period by Mr. M'Ward to his brethren in Scotland, in whose sentiments they in general cordially

acquiesced. "I cannot hide it from you, that I would have been less troubled if I had heard that he had marched down to Scotland with an army, made up of his English, French, and Irish papists, and all the men of that kidney, soul, and complexion, which are associate to burn, slay, and destroy that poor church and nation, because of their declared detestation at his abominations and idolatry, to the erection whereof he resolves to sacrifice the lives of all the lovers of our Lord Jesus Christ in the three kingdoms, and of the patriots of their country, who witness that they cannot outlive the departing of the glory, nor give up the interest of Christ, together with the liberty of the nation, to the lust of so publicly declared an enemy to both; than to have heard that by this very deed, we have declared our abominable baseness in the sight of God, angels, and men. Alas! whither have we not caused our shame to go? Alas! where is the Lord God of Elijah? Oh! where is the spirit of our noble ancestors, zealous for the Lord God of Hosts? Alas! where are the Knoxes? &c.—I shall not trouble you with the stories of all that horror, hatred, and shaking of head, wherewith this account is entertained abroad, amongst

all that are so much Christians, as to give the just preference to religion, or so much men, as to love the liberty of their nation; and would rather die in the quarrel ere they saw and suffered themselves to be robbed of that precious treasure of religion, and together with that, to outlive the loss of their liberty—and so only to live—to breathe at least under the yoke of antichristian bondage; and at length breathe out their miserable lives, under the bitterness, anguish, and agony, arising from the reproachings of their own conscience, that they had been so much beasts, as to entail slavery on their posterity—and so go to the grave, as the most miserable captives, under the curse of the children not yet born. Nor shall I entertain you with the account of that just discountenance and disrespect wherewith he was entertained in the United Provinces—insomuch as, all the time he was there, the people were so incensed at him, as an enemy to pure religion and true liberty, that his name was not so much as put in the public courants, lest, if it had, both pens and tongues had taken a just liberty and freedom to regret his having so much countenance or regard. And what may the United Provinces think of us, when

their courants shall be filled with the stories of this solemn and sumptuous reception, appointed for welcoming such a declared enemy to religion and liberty, as if he were, for his affection to both, the very darling and delight of the nation? Surely they will bless themselves, that they are not yet degenerate so far as we are; who, in this, seem to have forgotten we have souls, and are so much beasts, as, with the faces of men, we can bow our neck to the yoke of bondage, and glory in being so base. But it concerns us much more to think, and seriously to weigh, what England will judge of the solemnity of this reception; when, from the one end of that nation to the other, their public gazettes shall set before their eyes our shame, and the matter of their grief and sorrow. What shall these true patriots, who then withstood the court-contrivances, while under so many disadvantages, now think of us? What shall these nobles who with so much greatness and grandeur of spirit, did not only own the Protestant religion (while they saw the design discovered of destroying it,) by displaying openly a banner for truth in face of parliament; but were pleased, in a high, heroic freedom, which will make them famous to

posterity, to concern themselves, even in the preservation thereof in Scotland, France, and Ireland, as well as in England? I say, what judgment shall they give of us?" M'Ward's

Επαγωνισμοι, p. 332, et seq.)

CHAPTER II.

Justiciary commissions appointed—proceedings of the circuit courts and the military—Mr. Cargill and Henry Hall, of Haughhead, seized at the Queensferry—Cargill escapes—death of Hall—declaration found on him—it is disowned by the Covenanters—they publish a declaration and testimony at Sanquhar—efforts of the council to apprehend those concerned—bond of mutual defence agreed upon by Cameron and others—sufferings of the indulged—skirmish at Airmoss—death of Cameron—cruel treatment of Hackston, of Rathillet—his horrid sentence and execution—Archibald Alison and John Malcolm put to death—Mr. Cargill excommunicates the king, &c., at Torwood—the Duke of York again visits Scotland—Messrs. Skene, Stewart and Potter condemned and executed—students burn the pope's effigy.

THE violent proceedings of the council and military against the Covenanters during the year 1679, were fearfully increased in 1680. Taking advantage of an obsolete law, which required all the subjects, on any emergency, to attend the king's army, the council resolved to impose exorbitant fines on those heritors who had not appeared against the Presbyterians at Bothwell. Avarice alone dictated

this resolution, which was so illegal, that several of the members themselves were shocked at it; but it was carried by a majority; and hundreds of heritors and freeholders were cited before the justiciary court. No excuse, however reasonable, was received, and fines, amounting in some cases, to six thousand pounds Scots, were extorted from the offenders. (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 179.) Many were fined in absence, and warrants issued for their forfeiture. Commissions were at the same time granted to Glencairn, Dalryell, Queensberry, Claverhouse, and others, to search for, and apprehend all those heritors who had countenanced the late rising.

Although field conventicles were now nearly suppressed—Messrs. Cargill, Cameron, and a few other ministers being the only individuals who ventured to hazard their lives in order to proclaim the glad tidings of mercy to their persecuted countrymen—new proclamations continued to be issued against these obnoxious meetings. The council were unsatisfied while *one* conventicle remained in the country. They accordingly wrote to Lauderdale on the 8th of April, requesting that—seeing the lords of justiciary were so much engaged in prosecuting the heritors and

ministers who were in the rebellion, and the absentees from the king's host—justiciary commissions might be granted to certain individuals to punish those who frequented field conventicles. (Crookshank, vol. ii. p. 41.) With this letter the following articles, against "those persons understood to be the king's enemies," were transmitted to court for the sanction of his majesty, namely, that the king's forces be empowered to attack and kill, in case of resistance, all who were forfeited by the parliament or the criminal court; all heritors and ministers who had been in the rebellion; such heritors as approved of it; all rebels who had not taken the bond; all who, though they had taken the bond had been at field conventicles since the 27th July last year; all who had done violence to the orthodox clergy; and especially the murderers of the bishop of St. Andrews. These propositions, together with another for additional garrisons, being cheerfully acceded to by Charles, were immediately carried into effect by the council, and became the cause of increased oppressions throughout the country. (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 184.)

While the council were thus employed, the circuit courts of the west country, and the

military were greedily plundering the Presbyterians of whatever little property they yet retained. It was no excuse that an individual was unconnected in any manner with the rising at Bothwell. Claverhouse and his troops overran one parish after another, plundering without discrimination every house pointed out by the curates, and searching for those fugitive heritors whose names appeared on the porteous-rolls. Nor did the few who wounded their consciences by admitting the rising at Bothwell to be rebellion, and engaging never to attend a conventicle, escape the rapacity of the military, any more than those who, rather than submit, abandoned their homes, and became wanderers on the mountains. All were persecuted in one form or another, it being sufficient that the sufferer bore the name of a Presbyterian. (Hind Let Loose, p. 143.) "I find," says Wodrow, "that Claverhouse had a commission from the council, to uplift the movables of all such in the shire and stewartry of Galloway as had been at Bothwell, or were fugitate. His brother, Cornet Graham, was employed by him; and by himself, or some deputed by him, he went through every parish there, and prosecuted his business with the utmost

severity. It was by this commission granted to Claverhouse and his assignees, as we have seen, courts were held this year by Cornet Graham in the south, and inquiry was made into all the branches of non-conformity, as well as queries put with relation to Bothwell. There was a court held at New Galloway by the Cornet, at which all between sixty and sixteen were charged to appear, under the severest penalties, and declare upon oath how many conventicles they had been at, who preached, and whom they knew present, what children were baptized, &c. This was unreasonable, illegal, and a heavy temptation to perjury. (Hist., vol. iii. p. 191.)

But while the Covenanters in general were thus cruelly persecuted, the party who so zealously opposed the indulgence previous to the battle of Bothwell—having separated from their brethren both indulged and non-indulged—were particularly obnoxious to the council and prelates. Their ministers were now reduced to two, namely, Cameron and Cargill, who, though they sometimes suffered their zeal to outstrip their prudence, were evidently the more consistent adherents to the original principles of the Covenanters. That they were the only Covenanters at that

period, we cannot, however, admit; and while we would beware of being misled by the partial statements of Wodrow concerning these conscientious and intrepid Presbyterians, we would no less avoid implicitly following the accounts of those writers who have devoted themselves entirely to their party.

Being exposed to greater persecution, it was natural that the followers of Cameron should more minutely inquire into the reciprocal duties of rulers and subjects. Their inquiries, accordingly, aided not a little by their sufferings, led them to conclude, that when rulers wantonly violate their solemn engagements with their subjects and become tyrants, the people are loosed from theirs, and are no longer bound to support and defend those by whom they are oppressed. It is not likely, however, that they would have published these sentiments to the world as early as they did, had not a circumstance occurred which rendered it necessary for them to make an explicit statement of their principles.

While Mr. Cargill and Henry Hall of Haughhead were lurking in the neighbourhood of Borrowstouness and the Queens-

ferry, they were surprised at the latter place, on 3d of June, by the governor of Blackness castle, upon the information of the curates of Borrowstouness and Caridden. Through the intrepidity of Hall, who was mortally wounded in the scuffle, Cargill made his escape; but Hall was seized, and ordered to be conveyed to Edinburgh. He expired, however, on the road; and on his person was found the unfinished scroll of a declaration, which was immediately transmitted to the council. In this unauthenticated draught, the following sentiments are expressed:—"We believe that the doctrine contained in the Scriptures, summed up in our confessions of faith, and engaged to by us in our covenants, is the only true doctrine of God: we shall endeavour, to our utmost, the overthrow of the kingdom of darkness, and whatever is contrary to the kingdom of Christ, especially idolatry, popery, superstition, will-worship, Prelacy, and Erastianism. Seriously considering that the hand of our kings, and rulers with them, hath been a long time against the throne of the Lord, the power and purity of our religion, and Christ's reigning over his church, disclaiming the covenants with God, governing contrary to all laws divine and

human, and to all the ends of governments, &c.—we do reject that king, and those associates with him in the government, from being our king and rulers, they having altered and destroyed the Lord's established religion, overturned the fundamental and established laws of the kingdom, and changed the civil government into tyranny. We do declare that we shall set up over ourselves, and over what God shall give us power of, government and governors according to the word of God, and especially that word, *Exod. xviii. 21*, that we shall no more commit the government to any one single person, or lineal successor, we not being, as the Jews were, bound to one single family, that kind being liable to most inconveniences, and aptest to degenerate into tyranny. Moreover, we declare that those men, whom we shall set over us, shall be engaged to govern us, principally by that civil and judicial law (not that which is ceremonial or typical) given by God to his people of Israel." (*Cloud of Witnesses*, p. 375.) It can be no matter of surprise that the writer of this declaration renounced the king's authority, but the bold avowal in it to alter the form of government—which was so opposed to the senti-

ments of the most rigid Covenanters—proves that the author alone was responsible for its contents. It was indeed disowned by the followers of Cameron. The council, however, thought proper to publish it, charging the whole party with the intention of changing the government of the country, and of involving the nation in a civil war. (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 212.)

To counteract the impression which this paper was calculated to make on the public mind, Cargill, Cameron, and their adherents, resolved to publish an authenticated declaration and testimony, adhering to the present form of government, but renouncing allegiance to the tyrannical monarch. This document, of which it will be necessary to give the greater part, was affixed to the market cross of Sanquhar on the 22d of June, in consequence of which it received the title of the “Sanquhar Declaration.” It proceeds thus: “It is not amongst the smallest of the Lord’s mercies to this poor land, that there have always been some who have given their testimony against every course of defection we were guilty of; which is a token for good, that he doth not intend to cast us off altogether, but that he will leave a remnant, in

whom he will be gracious, if they through his grace keep themselves clean, and walk in his ways and methods, as they have been walked in and owned by predecessors of truly worthy memory, in their carrying on of our noble work of reformation, in the several steps thereof, both from Popery and Prelacy, and likewise from Erastian supremacy, so much usurped by him, who, it is true, (so far as we know,) is descended from the race of our kings, yet he hath so far departed from what he ought to have been, by his perjury, and usurping in church matters, and tyranny in matters civil, as is known by the whole land; that we have just reason to account it amongst the Lord's great controversies against us, that we have not disowned him, and the men of his practices, whether inferior magistrates or any other, as enemies to our Lord Jesus's crown, and the true Protestant and Presbyterian interest in these lands, our Lord's espoused bride and church. Therefore, although we be for government and governors, such as the word of God, and our covenants allow; yet we for ourselves and all that will adhere to us, the representatives of the true Presbyterian Church and Covenanted nation of Scotland, considering

the great hazard of lying under sin any longer, do by these presents disown Charles Stuart, who hath been reigning these years bygone (or rather we may say tyrannizing) on the throne of Britain, as having any right, title, or interest to or in the said crown of Scotland or government, as forfeited several years since by his perjury and breach of covenant with God and his church, and usurpation of his crown and royal prerogative, and many other breaches in matters ecclesiastic, and by his tyranny and breaches in the very *leges regnandi* in matters civil. As also we, under the banner of our Lord Jesus Christ, the captain of salvation, do declare a war with such a tyrant and usurper, and all the men of these practices, as enemies to our Lord Jesus Christ, and his cause and covenant, and against all such as have any way strengthened him, sided with, or acknowledged him in his usurpation, civil and ecclesiastic. As also we disown and resent the reception of the Duke of York, a professed papist, as repugnant to our principles and vows to the Most High God, and as that which is the great, though, alas! the just reproach of our church.” (Informatory Vindication, pp. 89—91.)

This declaration has most unwarrantably

been stigmatized with every epithet that is execrable; but are not the principles which it avows, in substance the same with those which in 1688 were acted upon by both parliaments, when the race of Stuart was for ever banished from the throne? To the comparatively few, but intrepid patriots who thus boldly set at defiance the doctrine of passive obedience to despots, the British Isles are at this day under no trifling debt of gratitude. They did "what they could;" and though their efforts were at that time unsuccessful, they proved the means of keeping alive that spark, which in eight years afterwards burst into a flame that defied the power of government to quench.

No sooner did the council receive intelligence of the publication of this paper, than they issued a proclamation, offering a reward for the apprehension of all concerned. Cargill, Cameron, and other ten individuals were declared traitors, and not only was a price set on their heads, but the heritors, bailies, &c. in sixteen different parishes, were enjoined "to cause cite before them in a court, all persons living upon their respective lands, men or women, above the age of sixteen years—and to take the *oaths* of the said per-

sons, whether any of these traitors foresaid were in that parish, and where and when." Orders were at the same time given to Dal-yell and the other officers, to apprehend every disaffected individual, and send him under a guard to Edinburgh.

Perceiving the determination of the council to accomplish their destruction, Mr. Cameron, his brother, and about thirty others entered into the following bond of mutual defence:—"We undersubscribers bind and oblige ourselves to be faithful to God, and true to one another, and to all others who shall join with us in adhering to the Rutherglen testimony, and disclaiming the Hamilton declaration, chiefly because it takes in the king's interest, which we are loosed from by reason of his perfidy and covenant-breaking, both to the most High God, and the people over whom he was set, on the terms of his propagating the main ends of the covenants, namely, the reformation of religion; and instead of that, usurping to himself the royal prerogatives of Jesus Christ, and encroaching upon the liberties of the church; and so stating himself in opposition to Jesus Christ, the Mediator, and the free government of his house: And also in disowning

and protesting against the reception of the Duke of York, a professed papist, and whatever else hath been done in this land (given to the Lord) in prejudice of our covenanted, and universally sworn to reformation. And although, as the Lord, who searcheth the heart, knows, we be for government and governors, both civil and ecclesiastic, such as the word of God and our covenants allow, yet by this we disown the present magistrates, who openly and avowedly are doing what in them lies for destroying utterly our work of reformation from Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and other heresies and errors; and by this we declare also, that we are not any more to own ministers indulged, and such as drive a sinful union with them; nor are we to join any more in this public cause with ministers, or professors of any rank, that are guilty of the defections of this time, until they give satisfaction proportioned to the scandal and offence they have given." (Cloud of Witnesses, p. 361.) This paper which was found on Mr. Cameron after the skirmish at Airmoss, still further enraged the council, and furnished them with an additional excuse for increasing the persecution.

But though the vengeance of the council fell most heavily upon the adherents of Cameron, no true Presbyterian, whether indulged or non-indulged, escaped suffering in one form or another. Mr. Gilbert Rule, for example, having ventured to preach without the bounds of the parish of Prestonhaugh, where he was indulged, and also to preach and baptize children in St. Giles church, Edinburgh, was deprived of his indulgence, and sent to the Bass. Nay, the king wrote to the council on the 14th of May, giving them additional instructions regarding the indulged ministers, and intimating that he was resolved to continue the indulgence only *for some time longer*. In consequence of these instructions, the Presbyterian ministers were burdened with new restrictions, and a foundation was laid for the repeal of an indulgence which at first was granted only to serve a purpose. (Crookshank, vol. ii. p. 46.)

Among the non-indulged, again, who were persecuted for their attachment to Presbyterian principles, was Mr. Archibald Riddell, who, though he had abstained from preaching in the fields since the indemnity, was imprisoned for holding house conventicles,

where some of the people were without doors. When examined before the council, Mr. Riddell acknowledged the king's authority, and highly disapproved of the sentiments of Cameron and Cargill; yet, for refusing to give his oath, that he would never in time coming preach in the fields, he was sent to the Bass. (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 197, et seq.)

If the most compliant among the Presbyterians were thus persecuted, what must have been the sufferings of those whom the military were enjoined to hunt out and destroy without even the shadow of a trial? To cut off all who had any hand in framing, or who refused to condemn the Sanquhar Declaration, was the chief and unwearied aim of the council. Orders to this effect had been transmitted to all the forces throughout the country; and while the military were obeying their sanguinary injunctions, Bruce of Earls-hall, with a large party of dragoons, surprised Mr. Richard Cameron and his brother, Hackston of Rathillet, and about sixty Covenanters, on the 22d of July, at Airsmoss, in the parish of Auchinleck. Perceiving the approach of their enemies, Cameron, after engaging in prayer, encouraged the little band

to stand on their defence. But though they fought with the greatest bravery, they were overpowered by numbers, and nine of the party were killed on the spot. Among the slain were Cameron and his brother, who fell gallantly fighting back to back. Cameron's head and hands were cut off and sent to Edinburgh, to be placed on some elevated place, according to the barbarous practice of the council. But with a refinement in cruelty, they were first carried to his father, in Edinburgh jail, who was insultingly asked if he knew them. The venerable man having taken them in his hands, and kissed them, with tears exclaimed, "I know them, I know them; they are my son's, my own dear son's; it is the Lord; good is the will of the Lord, who cannot wrong me nor mine, but has made goodness and mercy to follow us all our days."*

* Scots Worthies, p. 338.—The despised party of Covenanters who adhered to the principles of this godly but persecuted minister, were afterwards, by way of reproach, called *Cameronians*.

We need make no apology for the insertion of the following beautiful tributary verses to the memory of those who fell at Airmoss, written by James Hislop, a native of the district where the skirmish took place. Although he composed them when only a shepherd boy, and had enjoyed few opportunities of improving his mind, such are the merits of the "*Cameronian Dream*," (the title which the author gives his verses,) that it has been frequently reprinted—but seldom correctly. The

Hackston of Rathillet, who was among the number of the prisoners, was carried wound-following is copied from the Scots Magazine for February, 1821 :—

CAMERONIAN DREAM.

In a dream of the night I was wafted away,
To the moorland of mist where the martyrs lay;
Where Cameron's sword and his Bible are seen,
Engraved on the stane where the heather grows green.

'T was a dream of those ages of darkness and blood,
When the minister's hame was the mountain and wood;
When in Wellwood's dark moorlands the standard of
Zion,
All bloody and torn, 'mang the heather was lying.

It was morning, and summer's young sun, from the east,
Lay in loving repose on the green mountain's breast.
On Wardlaw, and Cairn-Table, the clear shining dew,
Glistened sheen 'mang heath-bells and mountain flowers
blue.

And far up in heaven in the white sunny cloud,
The sang of the lark was melodious and loud,
And in Glenmuir's wild solitudes lengthened and deep,
Was the whistling of plovers and the bleating of sheep.

And Wellwood's sweet valley breathed music and
gladness,
The fresh meadow blooms hung in beauty and redness;
Its daughters were happy to hail the returning,
And drink the delights of green July's bright morning.

But ah! there were hearts cherished far other feelings,
Illumed by the light of prophetic revealings,
Who drank from the scenery of beauty but sorrow,
For they knew that their blood would bedew it to-morrow.

'T was the few faithful ones who, with Cameron, were
lying [crying;
Concealed 'mang the mist, where the heath-fowl was

ed and bleeding to Dalyell at Lanark, who threatened to roast him because he did not

For the horsemen of Earlshall around them were hovering,

And their bridle-reins rung through the thin misty [covering.

Their faces grew pale, and their swords were unsheathed,
But the vengeance that darkened their brows was unbreathed;

With eyes raised to Heaven, in meek resignation,
They sung their last song to the God of Salvation,

The hills with the deep mournful music were ringing.
The curlew and plover in concert were singing;
But the melody died 'midst derision and laughter,
As the hosts of ungodly rushed on to the slaughter.

Though in mist and in darkness and fire they were shrouded,

Yet the souls of the righteous stood calm and unclouded;
Their dark eyes flashed lightning as proud and unbending
They stood like the rock which the thunder is rending.

The muskets were flashing, the blue swords were gleaming

The helmets were cleft, and the red blood was streaming,
The heavens grew dark, and the thunder was rolling,
When in Wellwood's dark moorlands the mighty were falling!—

When the righteous had fallen, and the combat had ended

A chariot of fire through the dark cloud descended,
The drivers were angels on horses of whiteness,
And its burning wheels turned upon axles of brightness.

A seraph unfolded its doors bright and shining,
All dazzling like gold of the seventh refining,
And the souls that came forth out of great tribulation,
Have mounted the chariot and steeds of salvation.

On the arch of the rainbow the chariot is gliding,
Through the paths of the thunder the horsemen are riding.
Glide swiftly, bright spirits, the prize is before ye,
A crown never fading, a kingdom of glory!

return satisfactory answers to his questions. With three others prisoners, he was then conveyed to Edinburgh, and received by the magistrates at the foot of the Canongate, who had previously received from the council the following disgraceful orders concerning the prisoners:—"The magistrates of Edinburgh are appointed, as soon as the body of D. Hackston of Rathillet is brought to the Water Gate, to receive him, and mount him on a bare-backed horse, with his face to the horse's tail, and his feet tied beneath his belly, and his hands flightered with ropes; that the executioner, with head covered, and his coat, lead his horse up the street to the tolbooth, the said Hackston being bareheaded; that the three other prisoners be conveyed on foot, bareheaded after him, with their hands tied to a goad of iron: ordain the said executioner to carry the head of Cameron upon a halbert, from the Water Gate to the council-house; that no meat or drink be given to Hackston after he is in prison, but what is prepared in the master of the tolbooth his house, and given by him; that none speak with him, or any letters be conveyed to him; that the master of the tolbooth have a special care of his person, as he will be answerable life for life."

(Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 221.) Being brought before the council in the afternoon, he refused to acknowledge their authority, or that of the king, though threatened with the torture, which the enfeebled state of his body alone prevented from being inflicted. He was then indicted to undergo the form of a trial before the justiciary court on the 30th; but on the day preceding, the council, anticipating the sentence of the court, determined that he should be put to death in the following inhuman manner:—"That his body be drawn backward on a hurdle to the cross of Edinburgh; that there be an high scaffold erected a little above the cross, where, in the first place, his right hand is to be struck off, and, after some time, his left hand: then he is to be hanged up and cut down alive, his bowels to be taken out, and his heart shown to the people by the hangman: then his heart and his bowels to be burned in a fire prepared for that purpose on the scaffold: that afterwards his head be cut off, and his body divided into four quarters: his head to be fixed on the Netherbow, one of his quarters, with both of his hands, to be affixed at St. Andrews, another quarter at Glasgow, a third at Leith, a fourth at Burntisland: that

none presume to be in mourning for him, or any coffin brought: that no person be suffered to be on the scaffold with him save the two bailies, the executioner, and his servant: that he be allowed to pray to Almighty God, but not to speak to the people: that the heads of Cameron and John Fowler be affixed on the Netherbow: that Hackston's and Cameron's heads be fixed on higher poles than the rest."* When brought before the court, he declined its authority; he was of course found guilty, and condemned to suffer death that very day, agreeably to the horrid manner determined on by the council. The sentence was accordingly executed on him to the very letter, which he endured with the greatest fortitude and Christian resignation. (Hind Let Loose, p. 211. Cloud of Witnesses, p. 55, et seq.)

Archibald Alison and John Malcolm, two other of the prisoners who were taken at Airmoss, were condemned to be executed in the Grassmarket on the 11th of August. They both died "rejoicing that they were

* Well might Wodrow add, that "these orders are so spiteful, inhuman, and barbarous, that I wonder how they were fallen upon by the managers, or what they could design by them." Hist., vol. iii. p. 222.

counted worthy to suffer for the name of Christ." "I enter my protestation," said the former of these martyrs in his dying speech, "before the Judge of all, both living and dead, before whom I am to appear in a little time, against all the encroachments made upon the prerogatives of our Lord Jesus Christ, particularly against Popery, Quakerism, and Prelacy, and all their underlings and the joiners with them; and against all supremacy that is contrary to the word of God—against Erastianism—the indulgences, and the silence of watchmen at this day in not giving faithful warning. I also enter my protestation against all those who have declared themselves opposite to our Lord Jesus Christ, and have displayed a banner for Satan; not only tolerating but acting and committing all manner of abominations, and horrid cruelties in things civil and ecclesiastical." John Malcolm having expressed similar sentiments, added, "All the troopers and dragoons in the three kingdoms will never get that fire of love that is kindled in the breasts of some in this country quenched. The fathers will be telling the children of it when they are old men, who are not taken away from the wrath that is coming on, to avenge

the quarrel of a broken covenant; they will be telling, that in the year 1680, there were as great days as there are now, (when there were prelates through these lands,) upon the mountains up and down this west. It was then that I got the seal of God upon my soul." (*Cloud of Witnesses*, pp. 73, 78. *Scots Worthies*, pp. 262, 268.)

Mr. Donald Cargill was now the only minister who ventured to preach in the fields; and though every moment in danger of his life, he travelled from place to place, making known to his oppressed countrymen "the truth as it is in Jesus." The tyranny, profaneness, and cruelty of the government had been already protested against; declarations had been framed, battles fought, and scaffolds dyed with blood, in the cause of the covenants and the work of reformation. But hitherto no ecclesiastical censure had been passed on those who had apostatized from their original principles. Mr. Cargill now stood alone; yet, conceiving that the want of his brethren's concurrence neither could "disable his authority," nor "lessen the duty," he resolved publicly to pass on the most eminent offenders the highest censure of the church. Accordingly, at a field-meet-

ing held at Torwood, in Stirlingshire, in the month of September, after lecturing from Ezek. xxi. 25—27, and preaching from 1 Cor. v. 13, he proceeded to pronounce the sentence of excommunication on the King, the Duke of York, &c. in the following terms.

“I, being a minister of Jesus Christ, and having authority and power from him, do in his name and by his Spirit, excommunicate and cast out of the true church, and deliver up to Satan, Charles II. king, &c., and that upon the account of these wickednesses; 1st, For his high contempt of God, in regard that after he had acknowledged his own sins, his father’s sins, and his mother’s idolatry—he hath gone on more avowedly in these sins than all that went before him. 2d, For his great perjury, in regard that after he had twice at least solemnly subscribed that covenant, he did so presumptuously renounce, disown, and command it to be burnt. 3d, For his rescinding all the laws establishing that religion and reformation engaged unto in that covenant, and enacting laws contrary thereunto. 4th, For commanding armies to destroy the Lord’s people, who were standing in their own just defence. 5th, For being an enemy to, and persecutor of true

Protestants, and a favourer and helper of papists. 6th, For his granting remissions and pardons to murderers, which is in the power of no king to do, being expressly contrary to the law of God. . And, 7th, For his adulteries, &c. and dissembling both with God and men.

“By the same authority, and in the same name, I excommunicate, &c., James Duke of York, for his idolatry, and for setting up idolatry in Scotland to defile the Lord’s land, and for enticing and encouraging others to do so.

“In the same name—I excommunicate James Duke of Monmouth, for coming into Scotland at his father’s unjust command, and leading armies against the Lord’s people, who were constrained to rise, being killed in and for the right worship of God, and for refusing that morning at Bothwell bridge, a cessation of arms, for hearing and redressing their injuries, wrongs, and oppressions.

“Next I do, by the same authority—excommunicate John Duke of Lauderdale, for his dreadful blasphemy, especially that word to the prelate of St. Andrews, *Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool*; his atheistical scoffing at re-

ligion : his apostasy from the covenant and reformation, and his persecuting thereof, after he had been a professor, pleader, and presser thereof ; for his perjury, adulteries, gaming on the Lord's day, and ordinary cursing." In a similar manner he pronounced the sentence on the Duke of Rothes, Sir George M'Kenzie, the king's advocate, and Thomas Dalryell of Binns. (Collection of Sermons, pp. 411—413. Hind Let Loose, p. 154. Cloud of Witnesses, p. 365.)

In order to vindicate himself from the aspersions which were heaped upon him in consequence of this singular transaction, Cargill, on the succeeding Sabbath, publicly justified the part he had acted in the words following :—" I know I am and will be condemned by many for what I have done, in excommunicating those wicked men ; but condemn me who will, I know I am approved of God, and am persuaded that what I have done on earth is ratified in heaven ; for if ever I knew the mind of God, and was clear in my call to any piece of my generation-work, it is in that ; and I shall give you two signs whereby you may know I am in no delusion. 1st, If some of these men do not find that sentence binding upon them ere

they go off the stage, and be not obliged to confess it from their terror, and to the affrightment of others. 2d, If these men die the ordinary death of men, then God hath not spoken by me." We leave the reader to form his own opinion both of the sentence and of its justification. It is, however, certain, that in consequence of this transaction, the Duke of Rothes in particular died under the greatest horror of mind, and that the last moments of the rest were embittered with the dread of its effects. (Crookshank, vol. ii. p. 62.)

The parliament of England having resolved to bring in a bill to exclude the Duke of York—a professed papist—from succeeding to the throne, the king, to avert the fury of the threatened storm, resolved to send him once more to Scotland. He accordingly arrived in that kingdom in the end of October, and was received by the prelates in the most flattering manner. So great, indeed, was their satisfaction at the appearance of a popish prince among them, that they immediately wrote to the king a congratulatory letter, in which they say, "That profound respect, and sincere kindness, sir, which we observe in your majesty's subjects here, to

your royal brother, the Duke of Albany and York, assure us, that we want nothing but occasion to hazard for the royal family, these lives and fortunes which you have made so sweet and secure to us ! We are obliged, with all zeal and sincerity, to return to your sacred majesty our most humble and hearty thanks for securing the just natural descent of that royal family, which is the chief glory and only security of this kingdom !" (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 239.) Thus plainly did the "orthodox" clergy, as the Scottish Episcopalians styled themselves, express their satisfaction at the prospect of a Roman Catholic being seated on the throne.

The apparent moderation which the duke evinced in his former visit, was now entirely laid aside. His arrival in Scotland was the signal for new and greater severities on the Presbyterians, which he not only encouraged, but took an active part in inflicting. James Skene, Archibald Stewart, Robert Hamilton, and John Spreul, having been apprehended in the month of September, were examined before the council. No crime could be laid to their charge ; but the Sanquhar declaration, the Torwood excommunication, &c., furnished sufficient matter to the persecutors for

ensnaring a prisoner by their jesuitical questions. Besides, a pretended plot against the duke's life had been got up, and all who adhered to the sentiments of Cameron and Cargill were most unjustly charged with holding the doctrine of private assassination. Messrs. Skene and Stewart were examined by torture, and having adhered to the Sanquhar Declaration and disowned the king's authority in matters ecclesiastical, they were indicted before the justiciary court, along with John Potter, farmer in Uphall, found guilty, and condemned to be executed on the 1st of December. (Cloud of Witnesses, p. 95.)

Mr. Skene, in his dying testimony, after laying the guilt of shedding his blood on his persecutors, condemned the reception which had been given to the Duke of York, together with "every thing which had been done against the covenants and the work of reformation." Mr. Stewart, who was unjustly charged with the crime of approving of private assassination, expressed his sentiments in the following terms:—"However I and that suffering remnant be mistaken, in that they give out in their declaration that I said I would kill the king or any of his council, it is an untruth and forged calumny, to re-

proach the ways of God, more like themselves and their own principles, who have killed so many of the people of God, both in the fields and upon scaffolds, and us among the rest, to please that bloody tyrant Charles Stuart's brother, and to make men believe that we have been contriving a plot to murder them." "O I am sure," exclaimed John Potter, "that the blood that has been shed in the fields and on the scaffolds in Scotland for the cause and interest of Jesus Christ, will have a glorious crop in spite of devils and men; and I am sure the seed sown at Airmoss will have as glorious a vintage as ever seed in Scotland had. (Cloud of Witnesses. Scots Worthies.) These martyrs, amidst the base and cruel annoyance of the beating of drums to disturb them in their last moments, with the greatest serenity bade adieu to all sublunary things, and died in the blessed hope of a glorious immortality.

The execution of these three professors was accompanied by a long and severe proclamation against Mr. Cargill and his adherents, in which they are accused of the crimes of "rebellion, treason, murder, assassination, and of carrying on a plot for killing the king, the Duke of York, the councillors, bishops, &c. ;

the testimonies and declarations given by the sufferers and the Torwood excommunication are commented upon, and their meaning perverted, and tortured to answer the purposes of the council; and a reward of five thousand merks is offered for the apprehension, dead or alive, of Mr. Cargill, three thousand for Mr. Douglass, and one thousand for each of the other "conspirators." The principles laid to the charge of Cargill and the Covenanters—that they held it lawful to commit the crimes of murder or assassination—are so often repeated, that their very repetition is one proof among many that either the council themselves did not believe them, or that they were afraid the nation in general would justly treat them as falsehoods. That some of the sufferers did utter unguarded expressions we readily admit, and considering the barbarity with which they were used, it is matter of astonishment that language much more exceptionable was not wrung from them amidst the agonies they endured. But in the Sanquhar paper, the Torwood excommunication,* and other public declarations of their

* "I desire the impartial reader," says the author of *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*, "to compare the Torwood excommunication with the memorials [to the

sentiments, no countenance whatever is given to the commission of any of these crimes. In their declaration of war in the first mentioned of these papers, "they only intended," according to Mr. Cargill's own explanation before the council, "to justify their killing any of the king's forces in their own defence, if assaulted, which otherwise might have been esteemed murder." The utmost, therefore, that can be advanced against them, is, that they considered it lawful for "individuals in some extraordinary cases, when called upon, to execute righteous judgment upon

Prince of Orange] and see if it be possible for any British Protestant, who owns the justice of the Revolution, to reflect upon the zeal of these people without blushing for himself and the whole nation, that they did not see and abhor the tyranny of those reigns sooner; then they had joined with those people instead of censuring their zeal; the Revolution had then been brought about without sovereign help at all; the Prince of Orange had then been called over, as peaceably as King George, to take possession of the crown; and the blood of near twenty thousand people, who were one way or other murdered and destroyed by that now abdicated race of tyrants, had been saved. What a shame is it to us, and how much to the honour of these persecuted people, that they could thus see the treachery and tyranny of those reigns, when we saw it not; or rather that they had so much honesty of principle, and obeyed so strictly the dictates of conscience, as to bear their testimony early, nobly, and gloriously, to the truth of God and the rights of their country, both civil and religious; while we all, though seeing the same things, yet betrayed the cause of liberty and religion, by a sinful silence and a dreadful cowardice."

notorious offenders who were placed beyond the reach of common law." And even this sentiment, though held in theory, they in general were exceedingly careful not to reduce to practice, of which their uniform conduct and acknowledged writings bear ample testimony.

To prevent the spread of opinions which had the smallest tendency to condemn the tyrannical proceedings of the council and prelates, an act was passed on the 11th of November, "against seditious books," and a general search was ordered to be made for the works following: "Naphtali; Jus regni apud Scotos, in English; Jus Populi Vindicatum; Reformed Bishop; and Calderwood's History." A bookseller of the name of John Calderwood was imprisoned for having several of these works in his possession; and all booksellers and stationers were ordered "to produce the lists of what books they imported from abroad, in order to have the approbation of one of the officers of state, or of the bishop of Edinburgh. (Crookshank, vol. ii. p. 64.)

While the council were thus trampling on the rights, both civil and sacred, of the Scottish nation, the English parliament endeavoured

to carry through both houses the bill for excluding the Duke of York from the throne. It was passed by the commons, but lost in the lords by a small majority, all the bishops except three voting against it; and shortly afterwards, Charles, incensed at these laudable efforts to preserve the liberties of the nation, first prorogued, and then dissolved the parliament. (Burnet, vol. ii. p. 838.)

The aversion to popery manifested by the English patriots was, though in a different manner, partially evinced in Scotland. The students in the college of Edinburgh having accidentally seen an engraving representing the burning of the pope's effigy in London, resolved to perform the same ceremony publicly in Edinburgh. They accordingly clothed an image of the pope in pontifical robes, with his keys, mitre, and triple crown; and, on the 25th of December, after pronouncing on him the sentence of excommunication, seated him in a chair of state, and carried him up the Cowgate to the foot of Blackfriars' Wynd, preceded by several of their number bearing lighted torches. Aware of their intention, the magistrates ordered the military to prevent so gross an insult being committed on the duke's religion, and to

seize some of the most active of the youthful offenders. The students having given out that they intended to commit his Holiness to the flames at the usual place of execution in the Grass-market, the soldiers marched to the place appointed, and patiently waited for the appearance of the procession. But instead of proceeding forward, the students turned up Blackfriars' Wynd, and setting down the chair on the High Street, first gravely pronounced sentence on the sovereign pontiff, and then set fire to the effigy, which, having a quantity of gunpowder lodged in it, was immediately blown up. The day following, several of the leaders in this affair were imprisoned, and an act was passed by the council of the following tenor:—“Considering that bonds and combinations have been entered into by the students of the college, and several tumults raised thereupon in the city, and the government itself is defamed by them, ordain the magistrates of Edinburgh instantly to cause shut the college gates, and cause the classes be dissolved till further orders.” Great efforts were at the same time made to implicate the Covenanters, and especially the Presbyterian ministers in this riot, but these efforts failing, the affair was terminated by the council ordering

all the students to take the oath of allegiance. (Wodrow, vol. iii. pp. 345, 346.)

A similar spirit was evinced by the students in Glasgow, who, though they did not carry matters to so great a length as was done by those in Edinburgh, decorated themselves with the ribbons formerly used by the Covenanters. Several of them, among whom was the Marquis of Annandale, being called before the masters and the archbishop to answer for their conduct, Annandale defended himself and his companions with the greatest spirit, and refused to give the bishop any other title than Sir. Mr. Nicolson, his regent, reproved him for his incivility to the prelate, saying, "William, you do not understand whom you speak to, he is a greater person than yourself." To which Annandale replied, "I know the king hath been pleased to make him a spiritual lord, but I know likewise that the piper of Arbroath's son and my father's son are not to be compared ;"* adding, that more noble blood flowed in his veins than in the whole fourteen of them put together.

* Arthur Ross was the name of this bishop. Burnet says, "He was a poor, ignorant, and worthless man, but in whom obedience and fury were so eminent, that these supplied all other defects."

CHAPTER X.

Disgraceful conduct of Sir George M'Kenzie—trial and execution of Isabel Alison and Marion Harvey—outrages committed by the military—violent proceedings of Kennoway—examination of Mr. Blackader—barbarous treatment of Mr. Spreul—the Gibbites—apprehension of Mr. Donald Cargill—his trial and execution—other four Covenanters put to death—proceedings of parliament—act securing the succession—the test act—its contradictory nature—opposition to it throughout the kingdom—protest given to the Duke of York in Glasgow—trial of six Covenanters before the justiciary—five of them executed.

THAT the presence of the Duke of York gave renewed vigour to the council in carrying on their deeds of oppression and blood, will appear but too evident from the following brief account of the year 1681. The justiciary was literally a court of injustice and cruelty, entirely under the control, and subservient to the will of the tyrants; and Sir George M'Kenzie, the king's advocate—whose name will be detested in every age—seemed to delight in nothing but shedding the blood of the innocent. The summoning of a jury was a mere farce, for whatever their opinion might be concerning the guilt or the innocence of a prisoner, M'Kenzie browbeat and

threatened them with an assize of error, if they dared to return any other verdict than that of *guilty*!

The first trial, which took place this year before this disgraceful court, was that of two young women, Isabel Alison and Marion Harvey, whose condemnation can be justified by no historian. The first of these females was a native of Perth, of sober and religious habits, but who had occasionally heard Mr. Cargill and several other ministers preach in the fields. For this grievous offence, and for uttering some expressions against the severity used on a few Covenanters in the neighbourhood, she was seized and carried before a magistrate. There, in her simplicity, she confessed that she had conversed with several persons who had been declared rebels, in consequence of which she was sent under a guard to Edinburgh. When brought before the council, the most captious and ensnaring questions were put to her, and by means partly of promises, and partly of threats, she was brought to acknowledge acquaintance with Rathillet, Balfour, and others concerned in the archbishop's death. She was accordingly, along with her companion, sisted before the justi-

ciary court. The following is part of her examination, written with artless simplicity by her own hand :—"The bishop said, wherein is our doctrine erroneous? I said, that was better debated already than a poor lass could debate it. They said, your ministers do not approve of these things; and ye have said more than your ministers; for your ministers have brought you on to these opinions, and left you there. I said, they had cast in baits among the ministers, and harled them aside; and although ministers say one thing to-day, and another to-morrow, we are not obliged to follow them in that. Then they said they pitied me; for (said they) we find reason and a quick wit in you; and they desired me to take it to advisement. I told them, I had been advising on it these seven years, and I hoped not to change now. They inquired, mockingly, if I lectured any. I answered, Quakers used to do so. They asked, if I did not own Presbyterian principles. I answered that I did. They asked if I was distempered. I told them I was always solid in the wit that God had given me. Lastly, they asked my name. I told them, if they had staged me, they might remember my name. Then they caused bring the Sanquhar Declara-

tion, and the paper found on Mr. Richard Cameron, and the papers taken at the Queensferry, and asked if I would adhere to them. I said, I would, as they were according to the Scriptures, and I saw not wherein they did contradict them. They asked if ever Mr. Welsh or Mr. Riddel taught me these principles. I answered, I would be far wrong to speak any thing that might wrong them. Then they bade me take heed what I was saying, for it was upon life and death that I was questioned. I asked them if they would have me to lie. I would not quit one truth, though it would purchase my life a thousand years, which ye cannot purchase, nor promise me an hour. They said, when saw ye the two Hendersons and John Balfour? Seeing ye love ingenuity, will ye be ingenuous, and tell us if ye saw them since the death of the bishop? I said, they appeared publicly within the land since. They asked if I conversed with them within these twelve months: at which I kept silence. They urged me to say yes or nay. I answered, Yes. Then they said, your blood be on your own head; we shall be free of it. I answered, so said Pilate; but it was a question if it was so; but ye have nothing to say against me

but for owning of Christ's truths and his persecuted members: to which they answered nothing." (Cloud of Witnesses, p. 116.)

The other prisoner, Marion Harvey, was only about twenty years of age, and was a servant in Borrowstouness. She was seized upon the highway, as she was walking quietly along to attend upon a sermon, and dragged before the council. Ensnaring questions, similar to those put to Isabel Alison, were asked her, and her answers were produced as evidence before the court, in presence of which, as already noticed, she was empannelled along with her companion in suffering. With great difficulty the court procured a jury; and even those who were compelled to act in that capacity were exceedingly unwilling to return a verdict against the prisoners. Several of the jury urged that "there was no fact proven against them." But M'Kenzie replied that the prisoners' words were treason; and ordered them to act according to law, otherwise he knew what to do. Being thus threatened, the jury at length found them both guilty of treason; and they were condemned to be executed in the Grass-market on the 26th of January. (Scots Worthies, p. 309.)

When about to be led out to execution, Paterson, bishop of Edinburgh, with wanton cruelty, said to Marion Harvey, "Marion, you would never hear a curate, but now you shall be forced to hear one pray before you die!" and immediately ordered one of his suffragans, who was present, to pray. The poor woman could not retire; but addressing her fellow-prisoner, she said, "Come Isabel, let us sing the twenty-third psalm;" in doing which they completely drowned the voice of the servile curate, and disappointed the unfeeling and impious prelate.* Their dying speeches on the scaffold do no dishonour to the age in which they lived, more especially when it is recollected that they were the production of unlettered females. "They that would follow Christ," cried Isabel Alison, "need not scare at the cross, for I can set my

* This was not the only outrage which was committed on these humble but godly sufferers. "I am informed," says Wodrow, "they were executed with some three or four wicked women, guilty of murdering their own children, and other villanies; which was very grievous to them. One of the Episcopal ministers of the town, who waited upon the others to the scaffold, railed bitterly upon the sufferers, and assured them they were on the road to damnation, while without any evidence of penitence, he was sending the other wicked wretches straight to heaven. However, they were not even moved, but sang some suitable psalms on the scaffold and prayed." Hist., vol. iii. p. 277.

seal to it, 'his yoke is easy, and his burden is light.' He is the only desirable master, but he must be followed fully. Rejoice in him, all ye that love him—let not your hearts faint nor your hands be feeble. Go on in the strength of the Lord, for I hope he will yet have a remnant both of sons and daughters that will cleave to him, though they will be very few, 'even as berries on the top of the outmost branches.'” “I am not come here for murder,” said Marion Harvey, “for they have no matter of fact to charge me with, but only my judgment. I am about twenty years of age; at fourteen or fifteen I was a hearer of the curates and indulged; and while I was a hearer of these, I was a blasphemer and sabbath-breaker, and a chapter of the Bible was a burden to me; but since I heard this persecuted gospel, I durst not blaspheme nor break the Sabbath, and the Bible became my delight.” These two virgin martyrs were then thrown over, and died in the full confidence of a blessed immortality. (Cloud of Witnesses, p. 132.)

Still thirsting for the blood of the Covenanters, the council, on the 2d of March, indicted John Murray and Christopher Miller, and on the 8th, William Gougar and Robert

Sangster before the justiciary court. Their confessions at their examinations before the council, which were pretty similar to those of the two preceding martyrs, were the only evidence produced against them; yet they were found guilty, and condemned to be executed on the 11th. John Murray received a respite previous to the day appointed, but the other three were executed according to their sentence, leaving behind them a joint testimony to the cause for which they suffered. (Cloud of Witnesses, p. 133. Scots Worthies, p. 317.)

The activity of the council in indicting and putting to death so many of the Covenanters, did not in the least prevent them from harassing and oppressing all genuine Presbyterians in every part of the country. The Laird of Meldrum, to whom ample powers had been already given to search for and punish those who favoured the rising at Bothwell, was enjoined to prosecute, with the utmost rigour, all whom he suspected to be inimical to Prelacy. Informers were encouraged and rewarded; the military were authorized to search every house for "rebels;" and the magistrates of Edinburgh were ordered to summon all tavern-keepers before them, and lay

them under a bond of 5000 merks, to allow no newspaper to be read in their houses, "but such as were approved of by the officers of state."

Among the numerous informers who were hired by the council to betray the Covenanters into their hands, we shall instance only one, namely, Thomas Kennoway, of the king's guards. This petty tyrant, having repaired to the parish of Livingstone on the 19th of March, with a party of soldiers, issued orders for the apprehension of all who had been at Bothwell. Parties were immediately dispatched in quest of offenders; and having received information of one young man who was suspected to have joined with the *rebels*, Kennoway himself headed the company who proceeded to the house where he lodged, in order to apprehend him. What followed is thus related by Wodrow: "The house was beset, and being near a moss, Kennoway himself rode betwixt the house and the moss, that none might escape; his men went in, and searched the house for the man and his arms; the man who lived there was very aged, and had two sons, the one was not in Kennoway's list; and after the party had searched all the house for arms, and broke

open all chests and presses, and found none, they brought the old man to Kennoway, who raged, and called him old devil, and swore he would hang him upon one end of a tow and his son upon the other, and ordered his men to bring out all the men in the house and carry them to the next house they were to attack. When they had carried them a good way, Kennoway suffered the old man and one of his sons to go home, and kept the other prisoner. Providence ordered it so, that the young man informed against was the person they let go, not having exact knowledge of him, it being dark. With their prisoner they came to another country town a good distance from the first house, where Kennoway alighted, and made the prisoner cast off his coat in a cold stormy night, and cover his horse with it, till the poor man was scarcely able to stand for cold. In that place the man they were searching for escaped—but Kennoway carried away his father prisoner in his room. After they had thus spent the night, early in the Sabbath morning they came to the Swine-abbey, a public house, put their prisoners in a room, and when they had lights, and saw the young man, Kennoway swore bloodily he feared he had brought

the wrong man." Efforts were accordingly made to secure the old man and his son whom they had dismissed; but the former was lying dangerously ill, in consequence of the cruel treatment which he had received, and the latter had made his escape. But though Kennoway was obliged to dismiss the prisoners he had already secured, the young man died in a few days from the effects of the brutal treatment which he had received. (Wodrow, vol. iii. pp. 243, 244.) Ruining fines followed this military crusade, and oaths were imposed on all the inhabitants in that and the adjoining parishes, that "no converse had been held with rebels."

Similar outrages were committed in the south, where military courts were held in almost every parish, and fines and imprisonment inflicted on all whom the prelates accused of adhering to Presbyterian principles. Cornet Graham, in particular, compelled every individual in Galloway, above sixteen years of age, to depone upon oath, accompanied by the most profane imprecations, not only that he "had never been at any field meetings, or countenanced such as haunted them, or was married or had children baptized by such as preached at them."

but "that he did not know of any of his neighbours, or any in the parish," who had been guilty of these *fearful crimes*! Grier-son of Lagg, a most bloody persecutor of the Covenanters, acted a part still more arbitrary and cruel, completely ruining multitudes who had no concern whatever in the late fruitless attempt to throw off the iron yoke of civil and religious despotism. (Crookshank, vol. ii. p. 77.)

While the military and their assistants were thus employed, the council continued to fine and imprison the obnoxious Presbyterians with the most relentless severity. Multitudes were forfeited for no crime but that of refusing to abjure their religion; their estates were conferred on their persecutors, and themselves declared outlaws, and doomed to destruction whenever apprehended. Although few conventicles were held in any part of the kingdom, renewed and still more severe proclamations were published against such as should dare to countenance, in any form, what the council had thought proper to designate "rendezvouses of rebellion!" And to extinguish the very embers of Presbyterianism, additional garrisons were appointed in various parts of the country, to

overawe and punish all who presumed to murmur a complaint against the tyranny of their oppressors. (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 244.)

Many of the Presbyterian ministers having taken refuge in Edinburgh, a new search was ordered to be made throughout that city, for all who were disaffected to the government either in church or state. Among others who were apprehended at that time was Mr. Blackader, who, on the 5th of April, was seized by Major Johnston, and carried before the council. Having there confessed that he was a Presbyterian minister, who was ordained at Troqueer in 1653, his examination proceeded as follows:—"Q. Did you excommunicate the king; or was you at Torwood at that time? *A.* I have not been at Torwood these four years.* Q. But what do you think of it? do you approve of it? *A.* Though I be as free to answer to that as well as to all the former, yet I must tell you, I came here to give account of my judgment to no man; therefore, seeing this is an interrogating of me about my thoughts, I humbly beg to be excused. Produce a libel, and I'll endea-

* Mr. Blackader was not connected with the party who adhered to Cargill, and in some minor points differed from them in sentiment.

your to answer it as I can. *Q.* But do you approve of taking the king's life, and condemning him in soul and body? *A.* No, I do not, and no good man will. *Q.* Sir, you have done yourself a favour in saying so. But we hear you keep conventicles since the last indemnity? *A.* I have the honour to be lawfully and duly called to the sacred function, and am bound to exercise that office as I shall be answerable at the great day. *Q.* But you have preached in the fields, that is, on moors and hill sides. I shall not ask you if you have preached in houses or not, though there is not liberty even for that. *A.* I place no case of conscience, nor make any difference betwixt preaching in the houses or in the fields, but as may best serve the convenience of the hearers; nor know I of any restriction lying on me from the word of God, where I have my commission, which reaches to houses and fields, within and without doors. *Q.* You know, and no doubt have seen the laws discharging such preaching? *A.* My lord, no doubt I have, and I am sorry that there ever should have been laws and acts made against the preaching of the gospel. *Q.* Not against the gospel, but against sedition and rebellion. *A.* I preach

no sedition or rebellion.” (Blackader’s Mem. pp. 274—276.) After this examination Mr. Blackader was sentenced to be banished to the Bass, whither he was conveyed shortly afterwards.

Another eminent sufferer for Presbytery at that period was Mr. John Spreul, apothecary in Glasgow, who, as already noticed, had been apprehended and imprisoned at the close of the preceding year. When examined at that time before the council, his answers were considered to be unsatisfactory, and he was ordered to be put to the torture, in presence of the Duke of York,* and a committee specially selected for that purpose. While the executioner was performing his horrid work, Mr. Spreul was interrogated as to his knowledge concerning the pretended plot against the Duke’s life, his acquaintance with Mr. Cargill’s place of concealment, &c.

* “When any are to be struck in the boots,” says Burnet, “it is done in the presence of the council, and upon that occasion almost all offer to run away. The sight is so dreadful, that without an order restraining such a number to stay, the board would be forsaken. But the Duke of York, while he had been in Scotland, was so far from withdrawing, that he looked on, all the while, with an unmoved indifference, and with an attention as if he had been to look upon some curious experiment! This gave a terrible idea of him to all that observed it, as of a man that had no bowels nor humanity in him.” Hist., vol. ii. p. 1004.

of which he still declared his utter ignorance. Finding that nothing further could be elicited from him, he was, with the greatest inhumanity, ordered to be tortured a second time, which he endured without departing in any point from his former declaration, and with a fortitude that astonished his tormentors.* He was then remanded to prison to await his trial before the justiciary court. (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 254.)

After lying in prison till the month of March, an incident occurred which determined his persecutors to accomplish his ruin. The Duke of York, who harassed and browbeat the prisoners on every opportunity, having abruptly said to Mr. Spreul, "Sir, would you kill the king?" the prisoner addressing himself to the chancellor, replied, "My lord, I bless God I am no papist: I loath and abhor all those jesuitical and murdering principles; neither my parents nor the ministers I heard, ever taught me such principles." This was enough. Mr. Spreul immediately received his indictment, but from some cause

* Dalyell having complained, during this second outrage on humanity, that the executioner did not strike with sufficient force upon the wedges, the latter replied that he struck with all his strength, and offered the bloody monster the hammer to perform the work himself!!

not accounted for, his trial did not take place till June. On the 10th of that month, he was brought before the court. In vain did his counsel contend, that having been twice tortured, and still continuing to deny the crimes laid to his charge, "by the law of this and of all other nations he ought to be acquitted." The court repelled the objection, and the trial proceeded. The jury, however, though threatened by M'Kenzie with an assize of error if they should acquit him, unanimously found him to be innocent of the charges which were laid against him in the indictment. But instead of being liberated, Mr. Spreul was most unjustly recommitted to prison, fined in £500 sterling, and banished to the Bass. (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 262.)

Still proceeding in their work of cruelty, the council, on the 11th of July, indicted before the justiciary court Adam Philip, Lawrence Hay, and Andrew Pittuloch, three poor but pious Presbyterians. No act of rebellion was so much as alleged against them, but they were charged with being guilty of joining in a society in Fife for prayer and conference, of refusing to hear the curates, and of having signed a paper entitled, "A testimony against the evils of

the times." For these unpardonable crimes, of which they candidly acknowledged themselves to be guilty, they were condemned by the court, and executed on the 13th of that month. They all died expressing their firm attachment to those principles which it was the unwearied aim of the government to destroy. (*Cloud of Witnesses*, p. 144, et seq. *Scots Worthies*, p. 326.)

At a period so destructive to every thing which had the smallest appearance of genuine religion, it can excite no surprise that some individuals should have imbibed tenets at once unscriptural and extravagant; more especially as the greater part of the nation had complied, in one form or other, with the mandates of government, while a few only adhered to the original principles of the Covenanters. About this time, accordingly, a set of enthusiasts sprung up, whose number never exceeded thirty persons, chiefly women, who assumed the title of the "Sweet Singers." Their leader, John Gib, from whom they received the name of Gibbites, was a sailor in Borrowstouness. Among other absurd principles which these deluded people maintained, were, their rejection of the psalms in metre, the "impression and translation of

the Old and New Testaments," on account of the preface to King James, and the dividing of them into chapters and verses; the confession of faith, covenants, Presbyterian worship, and form of church government; the naming of months and days, &c., all of which being enumerated in a large paper, they committed to the flames, "as seemed good to them and to the Holy Ghost" to do. "We also renounce," say they, "all authority throughout the world, and all that are in authority, and all their acts and edicts, from the tyrant Charles Stuart to the lowest tyrant."* In vain did Mr. Cargill and other Presbyterians endeavour to reclaim them; they spurned at either admonition or reproof, and were consequently disowned by all Presbyterians in the kingdom. (Cloud of Witnesses, p. 41.)

At length the whole party were seized by a troop of dragoons and carried to Edinburgh, where the men were imprisoned in the Canongate tolbooth, and the women confined

* Gib's Blasphemous Paper. Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 350. Informatory Vindication, p. 9. Burnet seems to class the Gibbites with the Covenanters, (vol. ii. p. 187;) but this is what might have been expected from this writer, whom we will not accuse of having been actuated by malice, though certainly, in many points, he displays considerable ignorance with regard to the Covenanters.

in the house of correction. Here they committed new extravagancies, and were faithfully admonished in a letter written to them by Mr. Cargill. They were not the individuals, however, on whom the council wished to wreak their fury; and accordingly, having abjured their "disloyal principles," they were liberated about the beginning of August.

But though the council manifested a degree of clemency towards those poor deluded creatures, which we have looked for in vain for many years past, their rage against the Presbyterians continued without the smallest abatement. One minister alone, namely, Mr. Donald Cargill, as we have already seen, had the courage to preach in the fields; but now that minister also fell into the hands of the persecutors. His last sermon was preached upon Dunsyre common, between Clydesdale and Lothian, on the 10th of July, from Isa. xxvi. 20, 21. Through the persuasion of Mr. Smith and Mr. Boig, two of his hearers, he went that evening with the lady of St. John's Kirk, after it was dark, to Covington Mill, and lodged in the house of one Andrew Fisher. James Irving of Bonshaw, however, having received some intimation of his place

of retreat, marched to the house with a party of the military, and early next morning apprehended the minister together with Boig and Smith. Five thousand merks having been offered for Mr. Cargill's apprehension, Bonshaw could not conceal his joy at the expected reward for the martyr's blood. "O blessed Bonshaw," he exclaimed, "and blessed day that ever I was born, that has found such a prize this morning!" (Life of Cargill, p. 37.

Without loss of time, Bonshaw marched his prisoners to Lanark, where the soldiers, having taken some refreshment, mounted their prisoners on the bare backs of horses, with their faces to the tails, and their feet tied below the bellies, of the animals. The binding of Mr. Cargill was performed by Bonshaw himself, who drew the cords so tight, that the good man, looking down upon him, said, "Why do you tie me so hard? your wickedness is great; you will not long escape the just judgment of God, and, if I be not mistaken, it will seize you in this place."* In this position they were carried

* Crookshank, vol. ii. p. 85. "And this was verified," adds that author; "for soon after he got the price of his blood, he was killed in a duel near Lanark. His last

to Glasgow, where Mr. Cargill had been formerly a minister, and led in triumph to the jail, amidst a crowd of people, who could express their sympathy only by their tears. One individual alone dared to mock the venerable martyr. John Nisbet, the archbishop's factor, a most notorious profligate, alluding to an expression very often used by Mr. Cargill when preaching, exclaimed, "Mr. Donald, will you give us one word more?" Fixing on him a look of sorrow mingled with regret, Mr. Cargill replied, "Mock not, lest your bands be made strong; the day is coming when you shall not have one word to say though you would."*

The prisoners were conveyed to Edinburgh the next day; and on the 15th, Messrs. Cargill, Boig, and Smith were examined before the council. The usual ensnaring questions being tendered to them, several of which they answered whilst they declined words were 'God damn my soul eternally, for I am gone!'

* "This came very shortly to pass," says Wodrow; "not many days after the Lord was pleased to lay his hand upon that ill man: at Glasgow, where he lived, he fell suddenly ill, and for three days his tongue swelled; and though he seemed very earnest to speak, yet he could not command one word, and died in great torment and seeming terror." Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 279.—Life of Cargill, p. 38.

others, these three prisoners, together with William Thomson and William Cuthil, were arraigned at the bar of the justiciary court on the 26th, with the previous determination to put them all to death. A short process was sufficient, their confessions before the council being all the evidence adduced against them. Upon this evidence, however, the jury returned a verdict, finding "Mr. Cargill guilty of treasonably declining the king's authority, and being at Bothwell; and the other four as guilty of owning the Sanquhar Declaration, and disowning the king's authority." The court then sentenced the prisoners to be executed on the day following, namely, the 27th, and the heads of Messrs. Cargill, Boig, and Smith, to be fixed on the Netherbow port, and those of the other two on the West Port of Edinburgh. (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 282.)

Though Mr. Cargill was denied pen and ink during the few hours allotted to him before his execution, he procured means to write and subscribe a testimony to the cause for which he was so soon to suffer death. "This is the most joyful day that ever I saw in my pilgrimage on earth," says he in that paper; "my joy is now begun, which I see shall

never be interrupted. I see both *my* interest and *His* truth, and the sureness of the one, and the preciousness of the other. My preaching has occasioned persecution, but the want of it will, I fear, occasion worse. However, I have preached the truths of God to others, as it is written, 'I believed, and so I preached;' and I have not an ill conscience in preaching truth, whatever has followed; and this day I am to seal with my blood all the truths that I ever preached: and what is controverted of that which I have been professing shall, ere long, be manifested by God's judgments in the consciences of men.—As to the causes of my suffering: the main is, 'Not acknowledging the present authority, as it is established in the supremacy and explanatory act.' This is the magistracy that I have rejected, that was invested with Christ's power. And seeing *that* power, taken from Christ which is his glory, and made the essential of the crown, I thought this was, as if I had seen one wearing my husband's garments after he had killed him." When on the scaffold, though annoyed by the beating of drums, he declared, when going up the ladder, that he did so with less fear and perturbation of

mind than ever he entered the pulpit to preach. "And now," he added, "I am near to the getting of my crown, which shall be sure ; for I bless the Lord, and desire all of you to bless him, that he hath brought me here, and makes me triumph over devils, and men, and sin ; they shall wound me no more.—I pray that sufferers may be kept from sin, and helped to know their duty." (Life of Cargill, p. 40. Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 30, 32.)

Walter Smith, one of his companions in suffering, was the second who ascended the ladder. "This is the main point, this day, in controversy," said that martyr, "upon which I was peremptorily questioned, and was desired positively to answer, yea or nay, under the threatening of the boots, viz. Whether I owned the king's authority as presently established and exercised ? which I did positively disown, and denied allegiance to him, as he is invested with the supremacy proper to Jesus Christ only. And who knoweth not, that at first he was constituted and crowned a covenanted king, and the subjects sworn in allegiance to him, as such, by the solemn league and covenant ? This was the authority wherewith he was

clothed, and the exercise of it was to be for God, religion, and the good of the subjects; and is not all this, as to God and his people, overturned and perverted?" (Cloud of Witnesses, p. 48.) Then addressing the spectators, "I exhort all of you that are the poor remnant," said he, "to be serious in getting your interest cleared; you that are in the dark with your case, take not flashes for conversion; study a holy conversation; be at more pains to know the Scriptures and believe them; be serious in prayer; slight not time; take Christ on his own terms, and resolve to meet with trials, and that shortly; slight not known duties; commit not known sins, whatever suffering ye may meet with for cleaving to duty."

The other intimate friend and follower of Mr. Cargill, who suffered death that day along with himself, was James Boig, a student of divinity, and a young man of piety and talent. He left no particular testimony further than what is contained in a letter written to his brother from the jail, in which sentiments are expressed similar to those which were uttered by the two martyrs already noticed. (Cloud of Witnesses, p. 52.)

William Thomson and William Cuthil, the

two remaining sufferers, left behind them large testimonies against all the evils and defections of the times, condemning not only the council and the prelates, upon whom they laid the guilt of their blood, but the indulged ministers, and their adherents, as having sinfully joined with the persecutors, and given a tacit consent to the overthrow of the church of Christ in Scotland. All these martyrs died "under much comfort, joy, and full assurance." (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 284. Scots Worthies, p. 357, et seq.)

The day following these executions, the parliament, after a lapse of nine years, assembled in Edinburgh. After reading the king's letter, the Duke of York, who had been appointed commissioner, addressed them in a formal speech, reiterating what had been stated by his majesty concerning his determination inviolably to maintain and protect the Protestant Episcopalian religion, and expressing his firm belief that they would "vigorously assert and clear his majesty's royal prerogative, and declare the rights of the crown in its natural and legal course of descent." By this speech it was evident to all, that the meeting of the legislature at that time was chiefly for the purpose of securing the duke's

succession, and, of course, the triumph of popery in Britain.

As a matter of course, the first act passed by this parliament, which was embodied in as few words as possible, ratified all the acts formerly made in favour of the Protestant religion, but in compliment to the commissioner, omitting the words, "and all acts against popery." Their second act, however, which secured the succession in favour of the duke, was not only servile and base, but unhinged the whole frame of a Protestant and free constitution. "The estates of parliament," says this statute, "considering that the kings of this realm, deriving their royal power from the Almighty God alone, do succeed lineally thereto, according to the known degrees of proximity in blood, which cannot be interrupted, suspended, or diverted by any act or statute whatsoever, and that none can attempt to alter or divert the said succession, without involving the subjects of this kingdom in perjury and rebellion—do therefore recognise, acknowledge, and declare, that the right to the imperial crown of this realm, is, by the inherent right, and the nature of the monarch, as well as by the fundamental and unalterable laws of this

realm, transmitted and devolved by a lineal succession, according to the proximity of blood;—and that no difference in religion, nor no law nor act of parliament made, or *to be made*, can alter or divert the right of succession and lineal descent of the crown to the nearest and lawful heirs.” (Burnet, vol. ii. p. 889. Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 291.) This “everlasting act,” confirming as it did the succession of the lineal descendants of the house of Stuart, is truly ridiculous, more especially when we reflect that in seven years afterwards these very lineal descendants were by another act of parliament rendered fugitives and vagabonds on the face of the earth.

Having given a new supply to government for the purpose of suppressing “seditious and rebellious field conventicles, and supporting the army in bearing them down,” the parliament next proceeded to pass an act for securing the peace of the country. Instead of viewing the prelates and their supporters as the disturbers of the public peace, all the evils under which the nation groaned were, as usual, charged upon the Covenanters—those noble patriots who dared to plant the standard of freedom amidst the solitudes of a country sunk into a state of the most abject

servility. Against such men, and against all who were suspected of favouring their cause, the act declares, "that all tenants and servants, delated upon the informer's oath of calumny, within three months shall be held as confessed, and guilty of being at field conventicles, or of reset and converse; that the landlord or master must pay the fine, providing the person found guilty have goods which will pay his rent, and if not, he is to dismiss him presently out of his land and service with his family, or present him to justice; and that those who shall afterwards receive such servants as are thus dismissed, shall be liable to pay three years' rent or fee to their master or landlord who dismissed them, and a hundred pounds to the king." (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 293.)

But the most disgraceful and impious act which was passed by this parliament was that entitled, "An act anent religion and the test." The feeble security which had been given concerning the maintenance of the Protestant religion having alarmed several of the members, it was proposed to impose a test on all who held any public office either civil or ecclesiastical, excepting the members of the royal family. But while this test re-

cognised the security of Protestantism according to the confession of faith drawn up by John Knox, and ratified by parliament in 1567, it bound the subscribers to a renunciation of all the principles which were maintained and sworn to at the Reformation in that very confession. (Burnet, vol. ii. p. 893.) In order to show the absurdity, impiety, and self-contradiction of this abominable oath, which entailed ruin on thousands throughout the country, we shall give it here. “I ——— solemnly swear, in presence of the eternal God, whom I invoke as judge and witness of my sincere intention in this my oath, that I own and sincerely profess the true Protestant religion, contained in the first parliament of King James VI., and that I believe the same to be founded on and agreeable to the word of God; and I promise and swear, that I shall adhere thereunto during all the days of my life-time, and shall endeavour to educate my children therein, and I shall never consent to any change or alteration contrary thereunto; and that I disown and renounce all such principles, doctrines, or practices, whether popish or fanatical, which are contrary unto, and inconsistent with the said Protestant religion.

and confession of faith : And, for testification of my obedience to my most gracious sovereign Charles II., I do affirm and swear by this my solemn oath, that the king's majesty is the only supreme governor of this realm, over all persons, and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil ; and that no foreign prince, person, &c., hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, or authority, ecclesiastical or civil, within this realm : and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions—and do promise, that from henceforth I shall bear faith and true allegiance to the king's majesty, his heirs and lawful successors ; and, to my power, shall assist and defend all rights, jurisdictions, prerogatives, &c., belonging to the king's majesty, his heirs and lawful successors : And I further affirm and swear by this my solemn oath, that I judge it unlawful for subjects, upon pretence of reformation, or any pretence whatsoever, to enter into covenants or leagues, or to convocate, convene, or assemble in any councils, conventions, or assemblies, to treat, consult, or determine in any matter of state, civil or ecclesiastical, without his majesty's special command, or express license had

thereunto; or to take up arms against the king, or those commissioned by him; and that I shall never so rise in arms, or enter into such covenants or assemblies, and that there lies no obligation upon me from the national covenant, or the solemn league and covenant, or any other manner or way whatsoever, to endeavour any change or alteration in the government, either in church or state, as it is now established by the laws of this kingdom: and I promise and swear that I shall, with my utmost power, defend, assist, and maintain his majesty's jurisdiction foresaid, against all deadly; and I shall never decline his majesty's power and jurisdiction, as I shall answer to God. And finally, I affirm and swear, that this my solemn oath is given in the plain genuine sense and meaning of the words, without any equivocation, mental reservation, or any manner of evasion whatsoever; and that I shall not accept or use any dispensation from any creature whatsoever. So help me God." (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 296. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 894.)

This medley of Popery, Prelacy, and absurdity, alarmed several of the members of parliament. The draft of the bill was brought

in at first without any reference to the confession of faith; but even when that clause was added, its complex and self-contradictory nature occasioned a long and warm debate. The Earl of Argyle, in particular, requested that as few public oaths as possible should be framed; that such as were requisite should be short and clear; and that, instead of the proposed test, a simple clause should be added to the oath of allegiance, which in itself was a sufficient remedy against fanatics. He also opposed the clause exempting the royal family from taking the oath, and proposed that the Duke of York alone should be excepted. It was, he said, the happiness of the country that the king and people were of one religion by law, and he hoped the parliament would do nothing to loose what was fast, nor open a gap for the royal family to differ in religion. The duke immediately rose and expressed his high displeasure at these remarks; upon which Argyle added, that if this exception passed, it would do more prejudice to the Protestant religion than all the rest of the act would do good. The bill was, however, passed that very day, and all in public trust, except the royal family were ordered to take

it under the severest penalty. (Crookshank, vol. ii. p. 94.)

Shortly after the rising of parliament, the Duke of York made a tour to the west. He was received in every place with the greatest enthusiasm, and was splendidly entertained by the public authorities. None expressed any disapprobation of his conduct but the small, yet determined band who were hunted like partridges on the mountains. They alone dared to protest against the advancement of a papist and a tyrant to the throne. While walking through the streets of Glasgow, receiving the acclamations of a deluded populace, one of these persecuted Covenanters boldly presented to him a paper, which, imagining to be a petition, he very graciously received. To his utter astonishment, however, he found it to contain a protest against the king for his tyranny in "heading, hanging, quartering quick, stigmatizing, scourging, drowning in seas, and oppressing the people of God;" and his bestowing the government of Scotland on a professed papist—after he had sinned away his own understanding with harlots—to cheat the people out of their souls as well as their property. No sooner had the duke read this paper than

he hastily left Glasgow, and returned to the capital, with the firm resolution of wreaking his vengeance on all who scrupled to take the abominable test. (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 348)

Before proceeding however, to give an account of the illegal manner in which that bond was enforced, and the dreadful effects which followed, we shall close the present chapter with another specimen of the cruelty exercised by the council upon the adherents to the principles of Cameron and Cargill. On the 17th of October, Robert Garnock, Patrick Forman, David Fairie, James Stewart, George Lapsley, and Alexander Russell, having been examined before the council, were indicted to stand trial before the justiciary court for non-conformity. Robert Garnock had lain in prison since 1679 for refusing to take the bond, and nothing of a criminal nature could be charged against him, except his confession, in which he disowned the authority of the persecutors. Patrick Forman had been apprehended with a knife in his possession with this inscription, "for cutting tyrants' throats;" and being asked if it was to kill the king, he replied, "if the

king be a tyrant, why not cut his throat?"* David Fairie, Alexander Russell, and George Lapsley were ensnared into a confession of their renunciation of the king's authority, and were consequently indicted, according to the illegal manner of the government, for no other crime than what had been extorted from them concerning their private opinions. But the case of James Stewart was the most barbarous and unjust. He was a young man—or rather a boy—of singular piety, and had never been accused of transgressing any one of the numerous laws then in force. Having come from the west country to visit a relative in prison, who effected his escape by some means or other while Stewart was in the cell, he was seized and carried before the council. On refusing to answer several of their inquisitorial questions, Sir George M'Kenzie threatened to pull out his tongue with a pair of pincers!

* That *individuals*, among whom this was one, were driven to act a part and to use language so unbecoming, can excite no surprise, considering the severity with which they were used. They were, however, few in number; and while we condemn *their* departures from right principles, what condemnation is due to those by whom they were driven to such desperation? Neither are the rash and unwarrantable expressions of one or two to be laid to the charge of the Covenanters in general.

The answers which were wrung from him concerning his adherence to Presbyterian principles were, however, deemed sufficient to effect his condemnation; and he was placed along with his companions at the bar of the justiciary court. (Cloud of Witnesses. Scots Worthies.)

The trial of these six non-conformists was short; but before the jury retired to make up their verdict, the prisoners presented to them a paper, in which they advised them to reflect on what they were doing, and upon what grounds they could return a verdict of guilty. In this paper they denied that they were rebels, or disowned any authority which was agreeable to the word of God or the covenants, to which the nation was bound by solemn oath. After warning them of the guilt of covenant-breaking—of the account which they would one day have to make to the Judge of all—and against imitating the example of former juries who had committed so many acts of injustice and cruelty; they concluded by charging them to beware of bringing on themselves the guilt of innocent blood. Notwithstanding this solemn appeal, the jury returned a verdict against all the prisoners, finding them guilty on their

own confessions. They were then condemned to be executed at the Gallow-lee, between Edinburgh and Leith, on the 10th of the month, and their heads and hands to be fixed on the Pleasance port. The reason for this change in the place of execution appears to have been on account of the multitude of spectators, on whom the dying speeches of the martyrs made such an impression that it was thought proper to discontinue their execution in the city. Nay, so afraid were the council of the spectators imbibing the sentiments of the sufferers, that they not unfrequently ordered them to be put to death at a very early hour in the morning. (Crookshank, vol. ii. p. 101.)

The execution of five of these prisoners—George Lapsley having previously effected his escape—was, however, attended by an immense crowd. Their dying testimonies were similar to those left by former sufferers. After successively addressing the people, they were executed according to their sentence, and their bodies were interred at the foot of the gibbet. Among the spectators was James Renwick, who had attached himself to the cause of the persecuted Covenanters. With the assistance of a few others, this eminently

pious youth removed the bodies of these martyrs by night, and buried them in the West Church cemetery. (Renwick's Life, p. 46.) He had also the courage to take down their heads and hands from the Pleasance port, but being prevented at that time from depositing them beside their bodies, he interred these fragments of the sufferers in a garden lying between the castle foot and the West Port.

CHAPTER IV.

The Duke of York enforces the test—reasons by the ministers of Aberdeen for its rejection—Bishop Paterson's explanation—its futility—Argyle takes the test with an explanation—refuses to swear it as a commissioner of the treasury—he is removed from all offices of trust—his imprisonment—his indictment—he is found guilty of treason—escapes from prison—his sentence—consternation of the Protestants in both kingdoms—severe satire on these proceedings by the boys of George Heriot's hospital—state of the Covenanters—the followers of Cargill form themselves into societies—Lanark Declaration—violence of the council—case of Mr. Frazer of Brae.

No sooner did the Duke of York return to Edinburgh than he proceeded to enforce the test. Few, comparatively, in any public situation, scrupled to swear that oath; yet among these few, were several of the Episcopalian

clergy,* who published their reasons why it could not conscientiously be taken. The ministers of Aberdeen, in particular, drew up a number of queries, in which—whatever their own views of the confession of Faith might be—the absurdity and inconsistency of the test was completely exposed, and satisfactory evidence adduced that no man could swear it without being guilty of perjury. How can any person swear, it is asked, to take that confession as the rule of faith, which, contrary to the other clauses in the test, forbids the resisting of the magistrate only conditionally, while they do not pass over the bounds of their office; and says, that it is a good work to bear down tyranny? How can he swear that he believes the king is the only supreme governor over all persons and in all causes, when that confession obliges him to believe that Jesus Christ is the only head of the church? If he believes the present church to be of divine and apostolic authority, how can he swear that it is in the king's power to alter it at his pleasure? How can he swear never to enter into any bonds or covenants,

* Burnet says, "the *bishops* went all into it," vol. ii. p. 895.

on any pretence whatever, when it was lawful in the first ages of Christianity to enter into a Covenant with Christ, and a league with one another, to cast off the yoke of Judaism and idolatry, though contrary to the command of princes? And should Popery prevail, would it be unlawful to enter into a covenant for shaking off the Romish yoke? Can any individual swear that he judges it to be unlawful for subjects to convene in any assemblies to consult or determine in any matter of state, civil or ecclesiastical, seeing he has no security from the test, or the laws of the land, but that clause may comprehend the assembling for the worship of God, or the exercise of discipline, more especially as all ecclesiastical meetings are put into the king's hand? Can he swear that he is under no obligation to endeavour to effect any change or alteration in the government of the church or state, as it is now established by law, when that confession teaches that no policy or order of ceremonies in the church can be appointed for all ages, places, and times, because what is now convenient may prove burdensome at another time, or in other circumstances? It must be a perfect constitution that requires no change in any

circumstances, and yet an alteration in circumstances is a change. If there be no more in this test than in former oaths, why is it imposed on those who took the declaration? (Wodrow, vol. iii. pp. 304, 305.)

This opposition of the clergy in Aberdeen was followed by that of the diocesan synod of Perth, and the greater part of the indulged Presbyterian ministers. To remove their scruples, Paterson, bishop of Edinburgh, drew up an explanation of the test, which being laid before the council, was considered too long;* but the following abridgment of it was approved of, and even received the sanction of his majesty. "That the confession of faith ratified in the parliament 1567, was formed in the infancy of our reformation, and deserves its own praise; yet, by the test, we do not swear to every proposition, or clause therein contained, but only the true

* While Paterson was reading this paper, the Duke of York, tired at its tedious length, interrupted the right reverend prelate with the coarse proverbial saying, "the first chapter of John with a stone, will chase away a dog." Paterson of course desisted reading, and the above abridgment was substituted. Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 303. Paterson was a man of any, or rather of no religion: nay, so indifferent was he about either Protestantism or Popery, that he told the duke that a few grains of loyalty, in which the former had the better of the latter, alone turned the scale with him. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 894.

protestant religion, founded upon the word of God, contained in that confession, as it is opposed to popery and fanaticism: That by this test, or any clause therein contained, no invasion or encroachment is intended or made upon the intrinsic spiritual power of the church, as it was exercised by the apostles, and the most pure primitive church, for the first three centuries after Christ, which is still reserved to the church: And, that this test is without prejudice to the Episcopal government of this national church, which is declared to be most agreeable to the word of God, and most suitable to monarchy, and which his majesty (as upon all occasions he hath declared) will inviolably and unalterably preserve and defend." (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 303. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 898.)

While this piece of wretched sophistry was eagerly embraced by some as a salvo to their consciences, hardened enough already by the impious oaths which from time to time they were forced to take, others fearlessly exposed the fallacy of the bishop's explanation. They argued, with the greatest reason, that such an illustration could not change the meaning of the words of this oath, more especially as the test was requir-

ed to be taken in its literal acceptation. Many of the indulged ministers were consequently deprived of their livings; a considerable number of the inferior Episcopal clergy were ejected for the same reason,* though several of them were subsequently restored to their charges; and a few of the nobility decidedly refused to retain their situations at the expense of sacrificing their integrity.

Among the nobility who rejected the oath were the Dukes of Monmouth and Hamilton, and the Duchess of Rothes. The Earl of Queensberry, though by no means overstrict in his principles, delayed taking the test till the very last, and when he did give his oath it was with the following explanation,—“That by that part of the test declaring there lies no obligation on the swearer to endeavour any change or alteration in the government of the church or state, &c. he does not understand himself to be against alterations in case it should seem good to his majesty to make them in church or in state.”

* According to Burnet, eighty of the best of the Episcopalian clergy refused to swear the oath. But allowing this number to be correct, though by other historians it is considerably reduced, it is to be kept in mind that many of them afterwards petitioned the council for liberty to take the oath, and were reinstated in their former livings.

Being favoured by the council, this explanation was received without any comment ; but it was otherwise with the Earl of Argyle, concerning whom it will be necessary to give a more minute account.

Argyle—to whom the Duke of York had repeatedly manifested his displeasure for his speech in parliament*—found it necessary to act with the greatest caution. He was willing to resign all his offices, rather than take the oath, but this was decidedly refused. He then waited privately on the Duke, and urged his objections to the test in a manner so forcible and convincing, that York, in a passion, replied, that “the test was brought in at first without the confession of faith ; but that the president had got that confession prefixed, which rendered it now such an oath as no honest man could take !” “Then,”

* When the Duke came to Scotland, “seeing,” says Burnet, “how great a man the Earl of Argyle was, he concluded it was necessary for him either to gain him or to ruin him. Argyle gave him all possible assurances that he would adhere to his interest in every thing except in the matters of religion ; but added, that if he went to meddle with these, he owned to him freely that he would oppose him all he could. This was well enough taken in show ; but Argyle said, he observed ever after such a visible coldness and distrust, that he saw what he might expect from him.”—Hist. of his Own Times, vol. ii. p. 888.

said Argyle, "there is the more reason why I should advise about it." (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 314.) After several fruitless applications, the Duke at length consented to allow him to take it as a privy counsellor with an explanation. Accordingly, on the 3d of November Argyle appeared in the council, and expressed himself in the following terms:—"I have considered the test, and am desirous to give obedience as far as I can. I am confident the parliament never intended to impose contradictory oaths, therefore I think no man can explain it but for himself. Accordingly, I take it in as far as it is consistent with itself and the Protestant religion; and I do declare I mean not to bind up myself in my station, and in a lawful way, to wish and endeavour any alteration I think to the advantage of the church or state, not repugnant to the Protestant religion and my loyalty; and this I understand as a part of my oath." After giving this explanation, the test was administered, and the Duke, with a smile, ordered him, in the most gracious manner, to take his seat at the council board. (Burnet, vol. ii. p. 900.) The explanatory act above noticed, drawn up by Bishop Pater-

son, was then passed; but the reasoning upon it being concluded before Argyle came in, he declined voting.

On the day following the earl was again called upon to take the test as a commissioner of the treasury. Notwithstanding the absurdity, or rather profanity of requiring the oath to be taken by the same individual for every office he held, Argyle offered to swear it anew with the former explanation, a copy of which he produced and offered to subscribe. Being removed while the council gave their opinion, he was called in and commanded to affix his signature to the paper; but being afraid of some design against him, he requested time to take it into consideration. He was then told that he had not given the satisfaction required by the act of parliament, and was immediately deprived of all his offices of trust. Argyle replied, that he conceived the parliament had excluded refusers only from places of trust; and if he were judged a refuser, though the time named by law for taking the test had not expired, he submitted, but he could not think there was any other danger in the matter; and as he had served the king faithfully within doors, so would he do so with-

out, after which he withdrew. (Fountain-hall's Decisions, vol. i. p. 160.)

The next morning Argyle waited on the Duke, and expressed his astonishment that what had been approved of by his highness, and received by the council at first, should now be conceived so great a crime. To which the Duke replied with a frown, "That he, with some others, had designed to bring trouble upon a handful of poor Catholics, that would live peaceably however they were used, but it should light upon others." This plain intimation of the council's resolution to proceed to extremities was followed, that very night, by a command to the earl to enter himself prisoner within the castle of Edinburgh, and an order to the king's advocate "to pursue against him a process of treason!"

With the greatest reluctance, the council allowed Sir George Lockhart to act as counsel for Argyle; but a legal opinion given by eight advocates on the earl's case, in which they maintained that the explanation given by Argyle imported no crime, so enraged the council, that a committee was appointed to examine how far that paper might be considered scandal against the government, and

deserving of prosecution. (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 321.)

Argyle was brought before the justiciary court on the 12th of December. His indictment, were it not that it involved in it the life of that nobleman, was not only ridiculous, but a burlesque on common sense. What, for example, can be advanced in defence of a libel like the following? "You, Archibald, Earl of Argyle, instead of taking the test and swearing the same in the genuine sense and meaning of the words, without any equivocation, mental reservation, or evasion whatsoever, did declare against and defame the said act—declaring that you had considered the said test, and was desirous to give obedience as far as you could, whereby you clearly insinuated, that you was not able to give full obedience. You declare, that you were confident the parliament never intended to impose contradictory oaths, thereby to amuse the people with a belief, that the parliament had been so impious as really and actually to have imposed contradictory oaths. You declare that you take the test in so far only as it is consistent with itself and the Protestant religion, by which you maliciously intimate, that the said oath is

inconsistent with itself and with the Protestant religion, which is not only a downright depraving of the said act of parliament, but is likewise a misconstruing of his majesty's and the parliament's proceedings, and misrepresenting them to the people in the highest degree, and in the tenderest points they can be concerned, and implying that the king and parliament have done things inconsistent with the Protestant religion. You expressly declare, that you mean not, by taking the said test, to bind up yourself from wishing and endeavouring any alteration in a lawful way that you shall think fit for advancing of church and state; whereby you not only declare yourself, but by your example you invite others, to think themselves loosed from that obligation, and that it is free for them to make any alteration in either, as they shall think fit: Concluding your whole paper with these words, 'and this I understand as a part of my oath,' which is a treasonable invasion upon the royal legislative power, as if it were lawful for you to make to yourself an act of parliament, since he who can make any part of an act, may make the whole, the power and authority in both being the same. Of the

which crimes above mentioned, you the said Archibald, Earl of Argyle, are actor, art, and part, which being found by the assize, you ought to be punished with the pains of death, forfeiture, and escheat of lands and goods, to the terror of others to commit the like hereafter." (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 320.)

Against charges so profoundly absurd, Sir George Lockhart and the other counsel for the prisoner ably defended the earl; yet all was ineffectual. The pleadings were protracted till a late hour, when the court proceeded to give judgment on the relevancy of the indictment. Two of the judges opposed, and two of them supported the sophistical reasonings of M'Kenzie, who had argued in defence of the libel. Queensberry, who presided, having taken the oath himself with an explanation, was unwilling to give the casting vote against Argyle. To accomplish their infamous purpose, therefore, Lord Nairne, an infirm old man, who had left the court before the pleadings were commenced, was raised out of bed to give his vote in a cause which involved the life or death of the noble prisoner. To supply the deficiency of his absence during the debate, the clerk was ordered to read the reasonings on either side,

during which his lordship fell fast asleep; but was awakened in sufficient time to give his vote against the earl. (Burnet, vol. ii. p. 903.)

Having "sustained the charges as relevant," Argyle next day was placed at the bar of the court, a jury was chosen,* and the trial proceeded. In consequence of the flagrant injustice which had been already committed by the prosecutors, the earl and his counsel refused to make any further defence. As usual, Sir George M'Kenzie threatened the jury with an assize of error, if they should return a verdict in favour of the prisoner. This bravado was however unnecessary, the jury being as blood-thirsty as himself. After a very short deliberation, they unanimously found, "That the Earl of Argyle hath proven against him the crimes of treason, leasing-making, and leasing-telling, and by a plurality of votes the said earl not guilty of perjury." (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 337.)

No sooner was this verdict returned than

* The following are the names of this infamous jury, The Marquis of Montrose; the Earls of Linlithgow, Roxburgh, Dumfries, Airly, Perth, Dalhousie, and Middleton; Lords Sinclair, Lindores, and Burnt-island; Lairds Gosford and Ballymain, Park Douglas, and Claverhouse.

the council wrote to Charles, informing him of the whole proceedings, and requesting him to grant warrant for pronouncing on the earl the sentence of death. In the mean time Argyle was recommitted to the castle under a strong guard ; but aware of the dangerous situation in which he was placed, he despatched a messenger to London to learn the result of the council's application. This messenger having ascertained that the king had complied with their request, hastily left London and arrived at Edinburgh a day before the bearer of the government despatches, and communicated to Argyle the result of his mission.

Perceiving that his death was determined on, Argyle at length listened to the persuasion of his friends, and resolved to make his escape. Having accordingly disguised himself as a page to Lady Sophia Lindsay, he left the castle on the 20th of December ; and though challenged by a sentinel, reached a place of concealment undiscovered.* As

* " Dec. 20, 1681. This evening about nine o'clock at night, the Earl of Argyle, fearing his life might be taken, escaped out of the castle of Edinburgh, under the disguise of a page, and holding up the train of Lady Sophia Lindsay his step-daughter, and sister to the Earl of Balcarraas. No punishment was inflicted on her.

might be expected, the hue and cry was immediately raised, proclamations were issued, and rewards offered for his apprehension ; but after lurking a few days in Scotland, Argyle proceeded to England, where meeting with Mr. Veitch, an ejected minister, he pursued his journey with the greatest difficulty, under the name of Mr. Hope, and arrived at London.* He shortly afterwards proceeded to Holland.

In vain did the Countess of Argyle petition that sentence might not be passed against her husband in his absence. The lords, overawed by the council, pronounced against him the sentence following:—"The lords commissioners of justiciary decree and adjudge Archibald, earl of Argyle, to be executed to the death, demeaned as a traitor, and to undergo the pains of treason, and other punishment appointed by the laws of the kingdom, when he shall be apprehended, at such time and place, and in such a manner, as his majesty, in his royal pleasure, shall think fit to

Casuists do allow one to fly when he meets with injustice." Fountainhall's, Decisions, vol. i. p. 167. Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 337.

* See an interesting account of the earl's escape and journey, in Dr. Mc'Crie's Memoirs of Veitch.

declare and appoint; and his name, memory, and honours, to be extinct, and his arms to be riven forth and delete from the book of arms, so that his posterity may never have place, nor be able hereafter to bruik or enjoy any honours, offices, titles, or dignities, within this realm in time coming; and to have forfeited, amitted, and tint all and sundry his lands, &c. to our sovereign lord, to remain perpetually with his highness in property." (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 340.)

Proceedings so outrageous—opposed as they were to all law, justice, or even common decency—filled every reflecting mind in both kingdoms with horror. In England the transaction was openly reprobated. "I am not acquainted with the Scots' law," said Lord Halifax to the king, "but the English law would not have hanged a dog for such a crime." (Fountainhall's Diary, p. 21.) And Lord Clarendon, on hearing of the sentence, blessed God that he lived not in a country where there were such laws.

The consternation in Scotland, especially among the Presbyterians, was universal. Several of the nobility who had refused the test abandoned the country and sought refuge in exile. Even the moderate Episco-

pallians were alarmed, perceiving that neither rectitude nor loyalty could save the individual devoted to destruction by a popish prince and his base sycophants. It may, however, give some relief to the reader amidst such a display of injustice and cruelty, to produce an example—ludicrous enough indeed—of the public feeling, which, though displayed by boys only was a galling satire on this disgraceful trial. In a very curious and valuable work, entitled “Historical and Descriptive Account of George Heriot’s Hospital,” an adventure of the boys of that institution is recorded from an old MS. by way of a “testimony” against the folly and oppressive nature of the test. The absurd reasoning of the crown lawyers on Argyle’s trial having become a subject of merriment to the boys, they determined to institute a similar process against the *dog* which guarded the outer gate, as being possessed of a *public office*, provided he refused to take the test. A copy of the oath was consequently tendered to this sagacious functionary, who, after smelling, refused to taste it. It was then rubbed over with butter, rolled up, and again laid before him. He took it into his mouth, but, instead of swallowing it entire, he extracted the but-

ter and spat out the paper on the ground. In imitation of Sir George M'Kenzie, one of the boys, as king's advocate, said, "that this was the test, and that all his irksome champing and chewing of it, was only, if possible, to separate the concomitant nutriment, and that was mikel worse than ane flat refusal; and, gif it were rightly examined, wold, upon tryal, be found not lesse than leiseing-making." After a protracted but ludicrous trial, the dog was brought in guilty of "leasing-making," which was exactly Argyle's sentence, and, like that nobleman, he was condemned to suffer death. "As the lounes were removing him from court to prison ther chanced a curat to be present, who asked, what was the matter? What ailed them at the dog? One of the limmers answered, that he, being in public trust, was required to take the test, and both refused it and abused it, whereupon he was to be hanged. The curat storming said, they deserved all to be hanged for such presumptuous mockery: The lounes laughing aloud, cryed out with one consent, that he and his brethren deserved better to be hanged than any of them, or the tyke either, since they had swallowed that which the

tyke had refused.”* It would appear that the dog escaped,† but this juvenile transaction was sufficient to have put the persecutors to utter confusion, had one spark of feeling remained in their breasts.

If the supporters of government, on the slightest symptoms of dissatisfaction at the arbitrary measures of the council, were thus cruelly used, what must have been the lot of those few but undaunted patriots, who set at defiance all their unhallowed and bloody laws? The death of Cargill had completely put a stop to field-preaching, no minister as yet daring to tread in his footsteps. Deprived of public ordinances, the people formed themselves into small societies for prayer and religious conference. They assembled, usually at night, in the most sequestered parts of the country, where they not only sung the praises of God, and called on his name by prayer, but encouraged and exhorted one another to

* “Account of the Arraignment, tryal, escape and condemnation of the Dog of Heriot’s Hospital, that was supposed to have been hanged, but did at last slip the halter.” Historical Account of George Heriot’s Hospital, p. 21.

† A no less curious proclamation was drawn up by the boys, pretty similar to that published against Argyle, “forfaulting his estat, discharging all persons to reset or harbor the fugitive trator,” and offering £500 for his apprehension. Ibid, p. 24.

steadfastness and perseverance in the cause of Christ.

“No more

The assembled people dared, in face of day,
To worship God, or even at the dead
Of night, save where the wintry storm raved fierce,
And thunder peals compelled the men of blood
To couch within their dens.”*

For the more effectual preservation of Christian intercourse and mutual edification in the absence of a stated ministry, these meetings nominated deputies to attend a general meeting, which was empowered to adopt such measures as the exigency of the times required. The first meeting of these united societies was held on the 15th of December, at Logan House, in the parish of Lesmahago, Lanarkshire, where it was resolved to draw up a public testimony against the defection and danger of the times. (Faithful Contendings, p. 10. Life of Renwick, p. 49.) After long reasoning, a testimony was framed, which—considering the sufferings to which they were subjected, the unenviable situation in which they were placed, and the dismal prospect which presented itself concerning religion and liberty in the kingdom—was just what might have been expected from

* Graham's Sabbath, &c.

men driven almost to despair. "Although we ought to take in good part," say they in that paper, "whatever God, in his infinite wisdom, hath, for the punishment of our sins, carved out unto us, and eye and acknowledge him alone in it; and though we always ought to acknowledge government and governors as ordained by him, in so far as they rule and govern according to the rules set down by him in his word and the constitutive laws of the nation, and ought to cast the mantle of love on the lesser errors of governors, and give the best countenance to their administration that the nature of their actions will bear, yet when all these laws, both of God and the kingdom, conditional and constitutive of the government, are cassed and annulled, by pretended laws, and the highest of usurpation, and an inexplicable prerogative in matters civil is arrogate: when a banner of impiety, profaneness, and atheism, is avowedly displayed against the heavens, &c. what shall the people do in such an extremity? Should they give their reason as men, their consciences as Christians, and resign their liberties, fortunes, religion, and their all, to those who in spite of God and man, are resolved to make their

own will the absolute and sovereign rule of their actions? Shall the end of government be lost, through the weakness, wickedness, and tyranny of governors? Must the people, by an implicit submission and deplorable stupidity destroy themselves, and betray their posterity, and become objects of reproach to the present generation, and pity and contempt to the future?* Have they not, in such an extremity, good ground to make use of that natural and radical power they have, to shake off that yoke which neither we nor our forefathers were able to bear?" Having then enumerated all the tyrannical and base deeds of Charles, whom they designate "the now cast off tyrant," they add, "Is it any wonder, considering such dealings, and many thousands more, that true Scotsmen (though we have been always, and even to extremity sometimes, loyal to our kings) should, after twenty years' tyranny, break out at last, as we have done, and put in practice that power which God and nature hath given us, and we have reserved to ourselves? Let none, therefore, object against the legality of what

* Let all those who esteem the persecuted Covenanters as ignorant enthusiasts, who knew not, and cared not for the blessings of *civil* liberty, answer these reasonings, as well as those which follow.

we have done, or are doing ; for we offer (as how inconsiderable we are said to be) to prove ourselves to have done nothing against our ancient laws, civil or ecclesiastical, against any lawyers or divines whatsoever, our ancient laws being judges ;—for we are only endeavouring to extricate ourselves from under a tyrannous yoke, and to reduce our church and state to what they were in the years 1648 and 1649. We, therefore, here convened, in our name and authority, ratify and approve what hath been done by the Rutherglen and Sanquhar Declarations ; and do, by these presents, rescind, annul, and make void, whatsoever hath been done by Charles Stuart, or his accomplices, in prejudice to our ancient laws and liberties, in all the several pretended and prelimited parliaments and conventions since the year 1660. And particularly the late parliament, holden at Edinburgh, the 28th July, 1681, by a commissioner professedly popish ; and for villany exiled his native land, with all the acts and laws there statute and enacted ; as that abominable, ridiculous, unparalleled, and soul-perjuring test, and the rest.” (Informatory Vindication, pp. 91—96. Hind Let Loose, p. 158.)

This paper being read to the delegates, was unanimously approved of, and appointed to be published at Lanark on the 12th of January following. Accordingly, about forty armed men proceeded to that town on the day appointed, where, having publicly burnt the test-act, they solemnly read the declaration, and affixed a copy of it to the market-cross. The declaration was condemned by the greater part of the Presbyterian ministers, not only on account of its framers again renouncing the authority of Charles, but of arrogating to themselves powers in it to which they had no claim. That there are exceptionable expressions in it must be evident to every reader; but it ought to be noticed, that these expressions were seen and acknowledged by the society people themselves shortly afterwards, and renounced in their Informatory Vindication, (Faithful Contendings, p. 11,) which, considering their sufferings, ought to be received as a sufficient apology for one or two instances of unguarded language.*

No sooner did intelligence of this publication reach Edinburgh, than the council—

* Such as their calling themselves a Convention of Estates.

enraged at so daring a protest against all their tyrannical laws, as well as contempt for their authority—ordered the magistrates to burn the Lanark declaration, together with the solemn league and covenant, by the hands of the common hangman; which was accordingly performed with the greatest ceremony at the cross. The town of Lanark was at the same time fined in six thousand merks, for not hindering what it was impossible for them to prevent—the publication of this galling declaration. (Faithful Contendings, p. 12.)

But not only were the society people the objects of persecution; Presbyterians in general were diligently sought after, and such of them as fell into the hands of the council—however innocent of the crimes laid to their charge—were not suffered to escape unpunished. One example, at present, of the unjust procedure of the council will be sufficient. Among the ministers who refused the indulgence was Mr. Frazer of Brae, who, as formerly noticed, (Vide vol. i. pp. 285—287,) had been examined, and for non-conformity sent to the Bass. On application to the council, he was liberated after the battle of Bothwell, under a bond of five thou-

sand merks given by Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder for his appearance when required. Since that period he had continued to preach in houses as privately as possible, that he might give no offence; but being informed against as having kept conventicles, he was cited before the council. Finding however that the charge was unfounded, the matter for the present was suffered to drop; and Mr. Frazer repaired to the north country. Being there attacked by disease, Sir Hugh proposed to write to the Bishop of Edinburgh, informing him of Mr. Frazer's indisposition, and his innocence as to holding field conventicles. Though Mr. Frazer remonstrated against this unwise measure—seeing it would afford an opportunity to the council to renew the citation with the view of obtaining the five thousand merks—Sir Hugh, relying on the justice of his cause, sent a letter of the above import to the bishop. As Mr. Frazer predicted, the citation was instantly renewed, and both principal and cautioner were ordered to appear before the council on the 22d December.

Notwithstanding his indisposition, and the inclemency of the season, Mr. Frazer resolved to obey the citation, and arrived at

Edinburgh the day before the time appointed for his appearance. When he and his cautioner presented themselves at the bar, the council were so astonished, that a dead silence ensued, which was at length broken by an order to the clerk to read Mr. Frazer's indictment. In this libel he was accused of preaching in the fields and without authority, and of teaching pernicious and rebellious principles. No proof was adduced against him, but, as usual, the whole charges were referred to his oath. Having obtained liberty to speak, Mr. Frazer assured them that he had not preached in the fields since he came from the Bass, nor yet without authority; that he had never preached seditious principles, nor doctrines inconsistent with the Scriptures and the confession of faith composed in the reign of James VI., which he conceived the last parliament had ratified; that he acknowledged magistracy as an ordinance of God, and owned the king's authority, even in ecclesiastical matters, as the nursing father of the church. He concluded by expressing in the mildest terms his adherence to Presbyterian church government, and declaring that as to his conduct 'he had endeavoured to keep a good conscience

both towards God and man, living unblamably and peaceably, and giving to God what was God's, and to Cæsar what was Cæsar's."

After delivering this speech, he was asked whether he had preached since he was released from the Bass? To which he replied, that he begged leave to answer to what he was charged with in the indictment only, which he humbly conceived was, whether he had preached without authority and seditiously; and that he denied. The council then asked by whom he was ordained. "He had no freedom," he replied, "to answer that question, seeing it concerned others whom he was not to stage; but he assured them, his ordainers had lawful and good authority; and he supposed their lordships could not compel him to answer to that, neither was he obliged, seeing he had been formerly questioned on the same point, and had satisfied the law, and therefore could not be again tried for the same fault. And seeing his ordination to preach was before the act of grace, any crime therein (if any was) was now purged; and, in a word, this was not in his indictment." (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 273.)

Several of the members of council were so convinced of his innocence, that they sig-

nified their wish that he should be discharged. But this was decidedly opposed by the prelates, who contended that he was a dangerous person and ought to be punished. At length the following decision was acquiesced in: That Mr. Frazer "be sent to Blackness prison, there to continue till he paid his fine of five thousand merks, and give surety either to preach no more, or go off the kingdom." When the Duke of York returned to London next year, application was made by Mr. Frazer's friends for his release, upon finding security that he should leave the country. With great reluctance this request was complied with, and Mr. Frazer immediately afterwards repaired to England. (Crookshank, vol. ii. p. 110.)

CHAPTER V.

Oppression increases—the Duke of York applauded by the prelates—trial and execution of William Harvey—military inquisition—proceedings of the council—case of Robert Gray—meeting at Tweedsmuir—violent proclamation against the Covenanters—inhuman conduct of the military—examples—trial and execution of James Robertson, John Finlay, and William Cochrane—their reasons for refusing to say “God save the king”—consistency of the Covenanters—case of Alexander Hume of Hume—of William Martin of Dallurg—of William Lawrie of Blackwood—of John Nisbet, younger—enlarged powers granted to the military commissioners—instructions to the curates—the Rye-house plot—other executions—field-preaching revived by Mr. Renwick.

ALTHOUGH the number of Covenanters who sealed their testimony with their blood, was much smaller during 1682 than in the year preceding, similar, or rather increased, oppressions continued to be the lot of all who did not join heart and hand in support of prelacy and popery. The more effectually to accomplish their infamous purpose of annihilating the Presbyterians, the council, on the 27th of January, ordered Claverhouse to proceed to Galloway with a troop of horse, to punish at discretion all whom he suspected of disaffection; and on the 30th he received a commission, as sheriff of Wigton, to make a summary ecclesiastical reformation in Kirkcudbright, Annandale, Wigton, and

Dumfries. So rigorously did this champion for tyranny execute his orders, that the council conferred on him a vote of thanks for his zeal against the Presbyterians. Their applause was no doubt exceedingly flattering to this ambitious hero; but the spoils of the Covenanters were much more gratifying to his avarice, and proved a more substantial reward for his services. Similar powers were granted to Major White and the Laird of Meldrum in Lanarkshire, which were executed with equal rigour. In short, in every county throughout the kingdom the most disgraceful and cruel proceedings were carried on against such as entertained the smallest attachment to the Presbyterian faith.

During these transactions, Charles, having got rid of his English parliament, recalled the Duke of York to London. Devotedly attached to this popish persecutor, the Scottish prelates, immediately after his departure, sent a letter, dated 9th March, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, highly applauding the measures pursued in Scotland by the duke. (Burnet, vol. ii. p. 907.) "We should prove very defective in duty and gratitude," say they, "if upon this occasion we should forget to acknowledge to your grace how much

this poor church and our order do owe to his princely care and goodness, that his majesty and the worthy bishops of England may from you receive the just account thereof. Since his royal highness's coming to this kingdom, we find our case much changed to the better, and our church and order (which, through the cunning and power of their adversaries, were exposed to extreme hazard and contempt,) sensibly relieved and rescued; which, next to the watchful providence of God (that mercifully superintends his church) we can ascribe to nothing so much as to his royal highness's gracious owning and vigilant protection of us. Upon all occasions he gives fresh instances of his eminent zeal against the most unreasonable schism. The peace and tranquillity of this kingdom is the effect of his prudent and steady conduct of affairs, and the humours of our wicked fanatics are much restrained from dangerous eruptions, upon their apprehensions of his vigilance and justice; for they dread nothing so much as to see him upon the head of his majesty's councils and forces against them." (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 365.)

While the prelates were attributing the stability of their church to the zeal of a pro-

fessed papist, the council continued to cement it with the blood of the Covenanters. On the 20th of February, William Harvey was indicted before the justiciary court, for "being accessory to the late rebellion, and being present at the publication of the declaration at Lanark." Though a verdict of guilty was returned against him by the jury, the court delayed pronouncing sentence till commanded to do so by the council, when this poor but pious Covenanter was condemned to be executed at Lanark on the 3d of March. In his dying testimony, which is very short, he declares that he adhered to the Scriptures, the confession of faith, and the national and solemn league and covenants; to the government and governors, in so far as they were a terror to evil doers, and an encouragement to those that do well; and to all the faithful testimonies given by the people of God since the year 1660. "Likewise," he adds, "I bear my testimony against popery and prelacy, profanity and ungodliness, and all abominations, and punishing of the godly, and letting blasphemy and wickedness go free; and I seal my testimony against the dreadful test, and all the sinful engagements of them. As for my dear friends I warn

you all to flee under Christ's banner in this day of common calamity, for there is no shelter but under his wings. I desire you, my loving wife, to seek God through Christ, and to own him in his way and truth, for which I suffer. Now, I recommend you and my child to the only wise Lord, who hath promised to be a husband to the widow, and a father to the fatherless." (Scots Worthies, p. 428.) After praying on the scaffold, the sentence was executed, and this martyr fell a sacrifice to the council's resentment for the last declaration at Lanark.

The Duke of York paid his last visit to Scotland in the beginning of May, for the purpose, chiefly, of placing the administration of affairs in that kingdom in the hands of his devoted friends. Queensberry was accordingly appointed treasurer; the lord president, created Earl of Aberdeen, chancellor; and Perth, justice-general. The Duke took his final leave of the council on the 15th of that month, after recommending to them the suppression of the Presbyterians, especially in Clydesdale, Tiviotdale, Fife, and Ayrshire, whither he advised them to send additional troops. In return, the council thanked him for the excellent pattern of

government he had left them, begged the continuance of his kindness, as one of the greatest blessings they could enjoy; and promised their constant and firm adherence to his service upon every occasion. (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 366.)

Agreeably to the instructions received from the Duke, the new administration proceeded to execute summary vengeance on the Presbyterians. Dalyell was ordered to repair to Lanark and Ayr with a considerable number of troops, to search for, and punish, those who were suspected to be rebels, or disaffected to the government either in church or state. He was ordered to compel every individual, whether innocent or guilty, to attend his own parish church; and "to fall upon ways to know if any of the rebels' estates, and rents, and movables, be possessed by their wives, children, or friends, to their behoof, and to send in lists of any guilty of such contrivances." With Dalyell were associated the Earl of Dumfries and Claverhouse, who received a general commission to plunder and imprison at discretion. (Crookshank, vol. ii. p. 113.)

Nor were the council themselves less active in persecuting to death those prisoners

whom their numerous agents put into their hands. Robert Gray, an Englishman, who had been seized and imprisoned in the preceding summer, upon what pretext is unknown, was brought before a committee of council on the 13th of May. While in prison, he had written a letter to John Anderson, then prisoner at Dumfries, expressing his sentiments respecting the king—whom he denominated a tyrant—and calling the oath, lately enjoined to be sworn, by the name of the *black test*. When examined by the council concerning this letter, he acknowledged that he was the writer of it, and that his sentiments, therein expressed, remained unchanged. He was consequently brought before the justiciary court on the 17th, found guilty on his own confession, and condemned to be executed on the 19th, in the Grass-market. While in prison he wrote an interesting testimony, in which he says, “I have got my sentence of death from men, who are unjustly taking away my life, merely for adhering to my principles, and have no matter of fact to prove against me, but only adhering to the truths of Jesus Christ, and testifying against their sinful laws and actions, which my indictment will testify. They take away my

life for declining their authority, and calling Charles Stuart a tyrant, and speaking against their test that they have made to overturn the whole work of reformation, in calling it the *black test*. Now, many may condemn me, and no doubt do, in my writing that letter to John Anderson, whom I own as my brother in Christ:—I do not much care what the time-servers say; but I hope none of the zealous exercised Christians in the land, that are concerned with the wrongs done to their Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, will do it; I having a right call to do what I did, he writing to me, and I giving him an answer, in which I have great peace, notwithstanding it has brought me upon the trial, and my God has owned me in it.” When on the scaffold, he addressed the spectators in a short speech. “I am brought out of another nation,” said he, “to own that covenant which ye have broken, and to seal it, and the glorious work of reformation, with my blood. The Lord be judge between me and you who have taken away my life, which of us have been in the wrong to the other; and assure yourselves there is wrath, sad wrath, hanging over this city, for the innocent blood shed therein. But as for you, who are the rem-

nant of the Lord's people, I would say this to you, keep your ground, and beware of turning aside to one hand or another, and I will assure you, the Lord will prepare a Zoar for you." (Cloud of Witnesses, p. 195, et seq. Scots Worthies, pp. 393, 399.)

Notwithstanding the continuance and severity of the persecution, a general meeting of delegates from the united societies was held at Talla-lin, Tweedsmuir, on the 15th of June. Although nothing material was done at this meeting—excepting their laudable efforts to purify their societies of James Russel and a few other members who were tinctured with the Gibbite opinions—yet, by exhortation and prayer, the sufferers were encouraged to perseverance in the cause which they had espoused. (Faithful Contendings, p. 21.) On the other hand, this meeting brought down upon themselves, and upon all Presbyterians throughout the country, the vengeance of the persecutors. The curate of the parish having maliciously represented them as a large armed assembly,* the council, on the 8th of July, issued a most violent proclamation, from which we shall

* There were only between twenty and thirty present, and of these, not a fourth part had weapons.

give an extract, as a specimen of their unreasonable and cruel proceedings:—"Of late, some traitors, runagates, and fugitives," say they, "have convocate towards the number of eighty, with forbidden weapons, near to Talla-lin, in the shire of Peebles; and the people in that country have been so defective in the duties of loyal subjects, or good countrymen, as to neglect giving timeous notice of such meetings or actings, either to our council, the sheriff of the shire, or the commanders of our forces; and this neglect of theirs, being not only a breach of duty in them but of very bad example and dangerous consequence;—we, therefore, do hereby strictly require and command all the subjects and inhabitants within this our kingdom, whether in burgh or land, upon knowledge or information that any number of men do convocate unlawfully in arms, or appear in company in any place, or where any one or two of such, as are declared traitors or fugitives from our laws, on treasonable accounts, shall repair, that they shall with all diligence give intimation thereof—with certification, if they fail, that they shall be held and repute as disaffected to our government and service. And we hereby of new intimate to all our

subjects, that whoever shall intercommune with, reset, supply, shelter, or give any comfort to any declared traitors or fugitives, or who shall conceal, reset, or shelter any who do convocate—that such resetters or assisters shall be proceeded against as if they were guilty of the crimes whereof these traitors and fugitives are guilty, according to the just rigour of our laws.” (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 376.)

Perceiving, however, that this violent proclamation was not so carefully attended to by the magistrates as the council had enjoined, they issued commissions on the 3d of August to military officers to confer with the sheriffs and other authorities; to call before them every person suspected of withdrawing from ordinances, &c. and to pronounce sentence and order immediate execution, with or without the concurrence of the magistrates. By this commission the executive power was placed in the hands of the military, whose revolting cruelty spread terror and dismay throughout every part of the country. (Faithful Contendings, p. 25.)

To give a detail of the severities which in one county alone were committed on the people by these military judges, would be a painful task. We shall select, as a speci-

men, a few instances in various parts of the country, in all which, it will be observed, the curates either were the promoters, or took an active part. Courts were held in Galloway and Nithsdale by David Graham, before which multitudes were summoned, and, without regard to age or sex, fined, imprisoned, or banished, according to the arbitrary sentence of the judge. Husbands were forced to give bond for their wives, and parents for their children, that they should either oblige them to attend the church, or drive them from their houses, and refuse to show them the smallest pity. If any of the parishioners presumed to meet together for prayer, the curate informed against them as being guilty of holding conventicles, and soldiers were immediately quartered upon every house, who oppressed, wounded, and robbed the inmates with impunity.

In the parish of St. Mungo, in Annandale, a boy of sixteen years of age having been summoned before Cornet Graham, but not appearing, a party of soldiers was quartered upon his father, though a regular hearer of the curate. In addition to this severity, the old man was cited to appear before Graham next court day, and commanded to subscribe

a bond, obliging himself "never to reset, converse with, countenance, or in any way supply his own son." So unnatural a mandate was justified by the curate, who observed, "that it was fit and reasonable, the father should suffer for his son, who was but a child, and his parents ought to have made him regular by a bridle." (Wodrow, vol. iii. pp. 384, 385.)

Claverhouse, too, was exceedingly active in the work of persecution. Having seized four men in the parish of New Glenluce, who refused to hear the curate, he imprisoned them in Stranraer, and quartered a party of ten or twelve of the military upon each of their families. One of these parties acted a most outrageous part. Though supplied with every thing which the house could afford, they ordered the afflicted wife to go out on the Sabbath day, and kill and make ready two sheep for their dinner. This demand being refused, one of the ruffians seized her, and swore that he would roast her on the fire, which he was prevented from doing only by the interference of the rest of the family. Having spoiled the houses of every thing on which they could lay their hands, the soldiers, after twelve weeks' residence,

marched elsewhere; at which time, the four prisoners were set on barebacked horses, tied two and two together, and ordered to be conveyed to Edinburgh. When a considerable way on their journey, Claverhouse sent his servant after them, offering them their liberty, provided they subscribed a bond, promising to pay to him on demand, the sum of one thousand merks each! To this unreasonable demand they were obliged to yield, and were permitted to return home, to be again robbed and plundered in the year following.* The fines, indeed, which were extorted from rich and poor, almost exceed belief. Because the Lady of Douglas would not swear that she had not attended a conventicle since 1679, she was fined in £500, and imprisoned two years in Stirling castle.

In Lanarkshire the people were not less grievously oppressed. One of the most violent of the persecutors in that county was the provost of Rutherglen. This Episcopal champion despatched a party to the house of a poor widow, to apprehend her son for absenting

* Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 385.—From this anecdote, which is one of many of a similar kind, the reader is left to judge whether there be any truth in the assertion, that Claverhouse “would scorn to rob any private individual of a farthing!”—So says a modern writer.

himself from church; but the young man, aware of his fate, made a desperate effort, and escaped out of their hands. Disappointed of his prey, the provost ordered the sister to be apprehended, alleging that she was accessory to her brother's escape, fined her in thirty pounds, and threw her into prison. Nor was she permitted to visit her parent, whose grief had laid her on a sick-bed, though sufficient caution was offered by her friends. Nay, the pitiful persecutor again surprised the house of the widow at midnight, under pretence of searching for her son, and before leaving it, compelled her to give him twenty merks—nearly all her living! (Crookshank, vol. ii. p. 131.)

But the inhumanity of the oppressors was not confined to deeds of extortion; they added the most revolting cruelty to avarice, and acted a part which would puzzle the most inveterate Tory writer to vindicate. In the parish of Kilbride, for example, Captain Inglis having seized three countrymen, who refused to swear the oath which he was pleased to dictate, deliberately tortured them by means of lighted matches bound between their fingers, till they were deprived of the use of their hands. Inglis then repaired to

the house of a widow Mack, with the intention of apprehending her son ; but the young man having made his escape, the captain collected the whole inhabitants of the district, and tendered to each of them the following oath :—"By the eternal God, and as I am content to lose my part in heaven, I know not where John Mack is." One individual refusing to swear so impious an oath, Inglis and his men beat him with their guns and swords, till they left him for dead ! (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 388.)

One example more will be sufficient, and more than sufficient, to show the cruelty of the persecutors, and the truly wretched condition of the Presbyterians. Captain Inglis, in searching for a man who was accused of the dreadful crime of non-conformity, and who fortunately happened to be from home, seized a boy in his employment of fifteen years of age, and commanded him to swear whether or not he knew where his master was to be found. This oath being refused by the boy, the brutal military struck him with their swords, and wounded him in several parts of the body. They then dragged him by the hair to the fire, and held his face so near that his eyes almost started from

their sockets. After having again cut him with their swords, they left him for dead, bleeding in every part of his body. Contrary to expectation, he afterwards recovered ; but for several years he was bereft of reason, in consequence of the inhuman treatment which he had received. (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 389.)

As already noticed, all these barbarities were committed at the instance, and commonly under the eye of the curates. These *reverend* gentlemen regularly visited their parishioners, not to instruct or comfort, but to take down the names of those who absented themselves from church, who assembled together for prayer, or who kept family worship ! All who acted so *puritanically* were noted down as disaffected Presbyterians, and reported to the military as fit objects to be reclaimed by torture or death. (Wodrow, vol. iii. pp. 386, 387.) But the heart sickens at the bare recital of such atrocities. Let the enemies of the Covenanters justify these persecutors as they may, their deeds will be held in everlasting execration by all who retain in their breasts the smallest spark of humanity.

The cruelties of the military, and their

abettors, the curates, were eclipsed by those of the council, who continued to sacrifice one victim after another to civil and ecclesiastical despotism. On the 11th of December, James Robertson, John Finlay, and William Cochran, were brought before the justiciary court, charged with the usual crimes of non-conformity, and denying the authority of the government in ecclesiastical matters. James Robertson was a pedlar, and belonged to Stonehouse, in Lanarkshire. Being in Kilmarnock on business in October, he resolved to visit his acquaintance, Finlay, then lying in prison; but no sooner did he enter the jail than he was apprehended and brought before Major White, who at that time commanded in the district. No crime being laid to his charge, the major examined him in the usual ensnaring manner; and when Robertson refused to answer questions criminating himself, the major pulled him by the nose and wrung it till the blood gushed out. He was then committed to prison: but even there, when engaged in the worship of God with a fellow prisoner, the captain of the guards rushed in, seized his bible, and swore he would commit it to the flames, if he ever found him engaged in a similar exercise. In

a few weeks afterwards he was conveyed to Edinburgh. At Linlithgow, because he refused to drink the king's health when ordered, he was tied head and feet together, and left lying on the cold ground in that miserable posture. Next day he was cruelly bound on a bare-backed horse, carried to Edinburgh, and hurried before the council. From his examination we shall select the following extract, in his own words, from which it will appear evident, that however cautious a prisoner's answers might be, nothing could save him but a complete renunciation of his principles.—“*Q.* Is the king your lawful prince? *A.* Since ye make your questions matters of life and death, ye ought to give time to deliberate upon them; but seeing I am put to it, I answer, ‘as he is a terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that do well,’ he is, or is not. *Q.* Were Pentland and Bothwell acts of traitory? *A.* They being in their own defence and the defence of the gospel, they were not acts of traitory and rebellion, self-defence being always lawful, which I prove from the confession of faith, whereon you ground yourselves, in that article, which is that subjects may resist unjust violence and tyranny. *Q.* Was you at Bothwell bridge?

A. Ye count it an act of traitory and also of rebellion; bear witness of it, and so make it evident. *Q.* Purge yourself by oath, and so we offer to set you at liberty. *A.* I will say no more of it; for when I told the truth to some of you, it was not believed. *Q.* There was an act of parliament when the confession of faith was made, declaring that the king was supreme, and it was owned by the Presbyterians at that time. *A.* How could that be owned, seeing the confession itself was owned? Show me the act. But it was not produced. *Q.* Was the bishop's death murder? *A.* When I am a judge set upon the bench, I shall pass sentence thereupon. *Q.* Own you the Lanark and Sanquhar Declarations? *A.* I cannot own any thing till I see and consider it. *Q.* Do you keep your parish kirk? *A.* If the minister has aught to challenge me with, let him do it. *Q.* Now, as a test of your loyalty, will you say, God save the king? *A.* Prayer ought to be gone about with composure and deliberation, and I am not in a composure for it. *Q.* Would you not seek a blessing if at meat? *A.* If you were present you would see. (Scots Worthies, p. 400.)

The examination of John Finlay, the pri-

soner who was visited in Kilmarnock jail by Robertson, was very short. "Being interrogated, whether it be lawful to rise in arms against the king, he refuses to answer, these being kittle questions, and he a poor prisoner. Refuses to say 'God save the king,' but says he loves the king as well as any person. Confesseth he was present at Drumclog, but without arms. Being asked if he conversed with Mr. Donald Cargill within these two years, refuses to answer, otherwise than that a man is neither by the law of God nor man bound to have a hand in shedding his own blood." William Cochrane's examination was nearly the same with that of Finlay. When urged, however, to say "God save the king," he made no reply.

The confessions of these three prisoners being produced before the court, as sufficient evidence against them, they were found guilty, and condemned to be executed on the 15th of December. When they appeared on the scaffold, Robertson attempting to speak to the people, orders were given to beat the drums; and because the dying man ventured to complain, Johnston, the town-major, beat him in a most brutal and cruel manner with his cane, at the foot of the ladder. In the

testimony which he left behind him, however, he gives the following reasons for his refusing to utter the prayer "God save the king." "The using of these words," says he, "we find was the order that was used in and among the children of Israel, at the king's anointing to that office; and used in our own nation at the coronation. Now, this being only due to a lawful king, ought not to be given but to a lawful king, and so not to him, being a degenerate tyrant; for if I should, I thereby had said *Amen* to all that he hath done against the church and liberties thereof, and to all his oppression by unlawful exactions, and raising of armies, for no other effect but to deprive us of the hearing of the gospel, and troubling or molesting the subjects, both in their consciences and external liberties, and also their bloodshed and murders made upon the people of God, and so 'bid him God speed,' contrary to that in 2 John, 10th verse. And seeing it cannot be given to any that have thus used their power to a wrong end, in such a measure and manner; so much less when they have set him up as an idol, in the room of God incarnate." Similar sentiments were expressed by William Cochrane. "The main

article in my indictment," said he, "upon which I have received my sentence of death from men, was, that I would not say 'God save the king,' which I could not do without being guilty of saying *Amen* to all that he hath done against the church and people of God and true subjects of the kingdom, and the ancient and fundamental laws thereof." "I durst not use these words," said John Finlay; "their bidding us to do it in test of our loyalty, to save him in his person and government and authority, which is a perfect owning of him in all that he hath done, in his usurpation upon Christ's prerogatives and privileges, they having made him supreme head in all matters and causes, civil and ecclesiastic." (Cloud of Witnesses. Scots Worthies.) The death of these three martyrs made a deep and lasting impression on many of the spectators, and proved the means, under God, of leading them to embrace that faith which it was the unwearied aim of the government to destroy.

Many historians have accused the Covenanters of foolishly and madly throwing away their lives by scrupulously refusing to say at the command of their judges, "God save the king." But in addition to the

grounds of their refusal, as stated by the three sufferers noticed above, we would ask, Did not that prayer include in it an unqualified submission to the king, in his person, government, and laws? And did it not express a desire for the blessing of God to rest upon all those measures by which the religion and laws of the kingdom were overturned and suppressed? As such it was understood by the council and lords of judiciary: and how then was it possible for the Covenanters to repeat it at the mandate of an atheistical junto, and retain either their principles or their integrity? That the Covenanters were not, however, actuated by such narrow views and unfounded prejudices as the apologists of persecution would have us to believe, is not more evident from their own definition of the words, as already shown, than from that of both adversaries and friends. Even Hume acknowledges that when "their lives were offered them if they would say 'God save the king,' they would only agree to pray for his *repentance*." (History of England, vol. viii. p. 170.) "I do not remember that ever I conversed with one of the sufferers," says a correspondent introduced by Wodrow, "and I talked with

most or all who suffered until August, 1685, who scrupled to pray for the king in their own terms, for *repentance* and *salvation to his soul*." Nay, that author adduces an example which distinctly shows the intention of government in enforcing this prayer. Mr. Campbell being asked by Lieutenant-colonel Windram, "if he would pray for the king," replied, that he both did and would, that God would give him a godly life here, and a life of glory hereafter. "That is not enough," rejoined Windram, "you must pray for king Charles II., as he is supreme over all persons and causes, ecclesiastic as well as civil." (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 49.) "Praying for the king," says M'Gavin, "was enforced at the point of the bayonet, and compliance was understood by both parties to be a renouncing of a fundamental principle of the Scottish reformation, which incurred the guilt of both hypocrisy and perjury. Charles was not content with being acknowledged head of the state. He would be head of the church too; and James, his successor, would have resigned the headship of both to the pope." (Life of John Brown, p. 16.)

The last public execution in 1682 was that of Alexander Hume of Hume, whose

condemnation was so illegal that Wodrow pronounces it to be "one of the most flaming instances of the rigour of that period." (Hist., vol. iii. p. 416.) On the 15th of November he was indicted for "rising in rebellion against the king's majesty within the shires of Roxburgh, Berwick, Selkirk, and Peebles, in marching up and down in arms, rendezvousing with the rebels in Bewly-edge, resisting and fighting a party of his majesty's forces, under the command of the master of Ross, besieging the castle of Hawick, robbing the arms therein, and marching towards Bothwell-bridge." Notwithstanding the efforts of M'Kenzie, the innocence of the prisoner was so clearly established, that the prosecution was dropped. Instead, however, of being dismissed, he was recommitted to prison; and, on the 20th of December, again brought to trial. In his second indictment he was accused of having come to the house of Sir Henry M'Dowal of Mackerston, besieged it, and called for horse and arms; of having come armed to Kelso, Selkirk, and Hawick, and searched for horses and arms, carrying away colours, drums, &c. and of marching forward to join the rebels at Bothwell. None of these charges were proven,

excepting that of his being at Mackerston house, which he declared to be quite accidental, having gone there for the purpose of buying a horse, and no person accompanying him but only one servant. This he offered to prove by several witnesses; but the court—determined to secure his estate—would allow no exculpatory proof to be adduced. The jury having accordingly found him guilty of commanding a party of the rebels' horse, and besieging the castle of Hawick—though none of the witnesses had accused him of these crimes—he was condemned to be executed on the 29th of December. (Burnet, vol. ii. p. 908.)

Mr. Hume earnestly entreated a few days' delay of his execution, that he might have time to lay his case before the king; but this was peremptorily refused. Several of his friends in London, however, anticipating the result of the trial, procured for him a pardon, and despatched a messenger with it to Edinburgh. It arrived two days before his execution; but so determined were the council on his death, that the Earl of Perth kept it up till after his execution. Nay, on the morning of that day on which he suffered, his wife applied to the Countess of Perth, be-

seeching her to interpose for his preservation, that she might not be left a widow and her five helpless children orphans, depending on the bounty of others. But even this heart-rending appeal was met by insults as unnatural as they were base, and showed that the same inhumanity possessed the breast of the countess that had been evinced by her husband. (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 417.)

The sentence of the court was accordingly executed on Mr. Hume, who ascended the scaffold with the greatest tranquillity of mind, and died in the assured hope of "being ever with the Lord." His last words showed not only the peace which he felt in the conviction that he died "not as a fool dieth," but gave decided evidence of the injustice of his persecutors. "I am come here to lay down my life," said he, "and I bless the Lord that I am not to lay it down as an evil-doer; and albeit I be a sinful man as others are by nature, yet through his grace I hope I am planted in 'Jesus Christ, in whom I have redemption and remission of sins through his blood. The world represents me as seditious and disloyal, but God is my witness, and my own conscience, of my innocence in this matter: I am loyal, and did ever judge obedience

unto lawful authority my duty, and the duty of all Christians. I was never against the king's just power and greatness, and this I commend to all that hear me this day; but all a Christian doth must be of *faith*, for what clasheth with the command of God cannot be our duty, and I wish the Lord may help the king to do his duty to the people, and the people to do their duty to the king. I cannot but be sensible of the sharpness of my sentence; nevertheless I bless the Lord I find it in my heart to forgive all men, even as I desire to be forgiven, and obtain mercy in that day; and if there be any at whose door my blood may more directly lie than others, I pray the Lord to forgive them; and now I wish it may be well with the land when I am gone." (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 418. Scots Worthies, p. 424.)

The commissions lately granted to the military, though too extensive already, were greatly enlarged in the beginning of 1683; in consequence of which a more systematic course of plunder, robbery, and cruelty was devised and carried on in every part of the country. The council and justiciary court set the example of lawless extortion to all inferior judicatories civil and military. Hav-

ing procured a letter from the king on the 8th of January, depriving the prisoners of the right of having a list of the witnesses to be brought against them, and ordering all witnesses to be examined upon oath privately before appearing in court, the council proceeded to prosecute, for the sake of their estates, multitudes against whom not even the shadow of a crime could be charged. The very day on which the letter was received, William Martin, younger of Dallurg, was indicted for treason. Aware that his innocence, however clearly established, was no security, he expressed his willingness that the trial should proceed, but at the same time, though guilty of no crime whatever, renouncing all his property into the hands of the king. This being what the council desired, the diet was immediately deserted. The example of Martin was followed by many other gentlemen, who found it necessary to sacrifice their whole estates in order to save themselves from being criminally indicted. (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 449.)

Innumerable prosecutions for non-conformity followed, while the fines which were imposed on offenders—and all were counted offenders whose names were on the Porte-

ous rolls—were most oppressive. Hitherto, however, those women whose husbands regularly attended the church had been in a great measure overlooked. But on the 11th of January the magistrates of Edinburgh presented to the council several queries as to the responsibility of husbands for their wives, and parents for their children. To these queries the council returned the following answers:—"That wives ought to be fined in the half of their husbands' fines: that *regular* husbands, on producing their wives to the magistrates, were no further answerable: that widows were to be fined in the half of their late husbands' fines: that unmarried women were to be fined according to the condition of their deceased parents and their own condition as to their fortunes: and that parents were answerable for their children attending the church when they were seven years of age, and fit to be catechised."* The bonds of natural affection were indeed so utterly disregarded, that on the same day these orders were issued, An-

* Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 422. Burnet, vol. ii. pp. 1002, 1003. This last author says, "Queensberry was for every thing that would bring money into the treasury;" and that Perth seemed to set it for a maxim—"that the Presbyterians ought to be extirpated."

drew Herron of Kerrochtree, in Galloway was brought before the council for conversing with his own son and son-in-law, who had been at Bothwell. He pleaded ignorance of the statute, and threw himself on their mercy. But though he was pardoned "both as to his life and estate," he was fined in the sum of five thousand merks. (Crookshank, vol. ii. p. 135.)

Another flagrant act of injustice committed about the same period by the council, was the apprehension, trial, and condemnation of William Lawrie of Blackwood, who was prosecuted for conversing with some of the rebels, and for permitting several of his tenants who had been at Bothwell to return and reside on his estate. In vain did he plead that he was only a tutor on the estate; that he usually resided in Edinburgh, and was consequently unacquainted with those who were esteemed rebels; and that not one of these tenants had been intercommuned or convicted of rebellion. All his defences were repelled, and he was condemned to be executed as a traitor. It is true that he was subsequently pardoned in so far as his life was concerned; but the forfeiture of his estate for this fictitious crime evidently put

into the hands of the council the property of almost every man in the kingdom. "This was such a constructive treason," says Burnet, "that went upon so many unreasonable suppositions, that it showed the shamelessness of a sort of men who had been forty years declaiming against a parliamentary attainder for a constructive treason in the case of the Earl of Stafford, and did now condemn a man upon a train of so many inferences, that it was not possible to make it look even like a constructive treason." (Burnet, vol. ii. p. 910.)

But to enumerate examples of injustice and extortion would be endless. From the most dignified to the meanest of the persecutors, every thing like either law or justice was sacrificed to their avarice. To attain this unhallowed object of their pursuit, the lives of the innocent were taken away, and the dead in their graves were tried, condemned, and forfeited, that their estates might be seized by their oppressors.

Justiciary powers having been lodged in the hands of several of the military, Major White indicted John Nisbet, younger—so called to distinguish him from his namesake of Hardhill—to stand trial for the usual

crimes of "treason and rebellion." On refusing to answer several of the ensnaring questions which were put to him, White impiously threatened to make him sit three hours in hell. Being interrogated, if he would say "God save the king," he answered that it was not in his power either to save or to condemn him. "Q. Would you say, 'God save your beast,' if it were fallen into a hole? A. No; because it is a taking of his name in vain. Q. Was you at Bothwell at the rebellion? A. Seeing you count it rebellion, it is criminal—witness of it. Q. Is the bishop's death murder? A. I am not a judge to cognosce upon it. Q. Own ye the king in all matters civil and ecclesiastic, and to be head of the church? A. I will acknowledge none to be head of the church but Christ. Q. Who is lawgiver? A. Christ." On these and similar answers he was condemned to be executed at Kilmarnock on the 14th of April. While in prison he drew up a minute testimony against the defections of the times, and of his own firm adherence to the covenants and the principles of the reformation. When on the scaffold, he addressed the spectators in a very pathetic speech. He informed them that though this

was the first execution in Kilmarnock, it would not, in his opinion, be the last; and having exhorted them to prepare for death, judgment, and eternity, he resigned his spirit into the hands of a compassionate Redeemer. (Cloud of Witnesses, p. 242. Scots Worthies, p. 428.)

Although the extensive powers conferred on White, Claverhouse, and others, to prosecute and pronounce sentence on the Presbyterians, seemed to be quite sufficient to extirpate the "fanatics," yet it was deemed proper to increase the number and enlarge the powers of the circuit courts. A violent proclamation was accordingly published on the 13th of April, in which his majesty ordered the council, and all judges and magistrates, to execute the law with rigour against all who should be found guilty of *fanatical disorders*, and to prosecute such as were guilty of receiving, harbouring, or conversing with rebels. Charles also gave authority to the council to grant commissions, as ample as they themselves enjoyed, to persons in every country, for the purpose of punishing, by fines, imprisonment, or death, those who were accused of disaffection; and to impose the test upon all, whether heritors or common

people, of whom they entertained the smallest suspicion.

To facilitate the work of plunder and death which it was the business of these courts to accomplish, *secret* rolls were ordered to be kept by the clerks, in which the names of all who should be informed against were to be inserted. The clergy too received the following instructions, which, though exceedingly gratifying to the curates, the reader is left to judge whether they were consistent with the office of the ministry: "They are to give in, upon oath, a list of their sessioners, &c., of withdrawers from the church, and non-communicants—an account of all disorders and rebellions and who were guilty—and a complete roll of all within the parish, and particular list of all the heritors: that all women who were delinquents, be given up as well as men: that they give an account of all persons who have gone out of their parishes, and the reasons of it—of fugitives, their wives or widows—and all resetters of them; and of chapmen and travellers: and that they declare who are the people in their parishes who can give the best account of all these particulars, that such may be

brought in and examined.” (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 482.) The dreadful cruelties committed by the judges, officers, and underlings connected with these courts, spread terror throughout the country; their lawless proceedings rendered every place in which such courts were erected little else than a desolation; nay, the judges and other functionaries, having already perjured themselves, seemed determined—like the Pharisees—to make every other person “two-fold more a child of hell than themselves.” That this is no rash or unfounded accusation, will appear too evident from the following instance—which is one of many equally atrocious—of the procedure of these persecutors. The Laird of Westeraw having ordered intimation to be made in the church of Moffat, summoning all the heads of families to appear on the day following to take the test, exultingly, or rather fiendishly exclaimed, with a horrid oath, “that before to-morrow night they should all be damned as well as he!!” (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 495.)

In the mean time the council and justiciary court continued to sacrifice one victim after another to despotic cruelty. On the

4th of May, David Macmillan and John Wilson, who had been previously examined before the council, were placed at the bar of the justiciary court, their examinations produced against them, and, on their own confessions, found guilty of refusing to pronounce the rising at Bothwell *rebellion*, and of acknowledging the king's authority only in so far as he had kept his engagements, and acted agreeably to the word of God. They were accordingly condemned to be executed on the 16th of May. The former of these martyrs, when on the scaffold, "blessed God who had inclined him to join with the persecuted party at Bothwell; entreated all who heard him to mourn over broken vows and promises, slighted offers and opportunities, and a broken covenant; declared that he died in the firm belief that God would return to Scotland; and left his testimony against hearing of the curates, paying of cess, and the indulgence." (Crookshank, vol. ii. p. 145.) "I am really of opinion," said John Wilson, "that God shall root this race of kings, root and branch away, and make them like Zeba and Zalmunna, for taking God's house in posses-

sion, and resolving to root out the seed of the godly under the name of *fanatics*.” (Cloud of Witnesses, p. 258.)

The discovery at this time in England of what was called “the Rye-house plot,” exceedingly aggravated the persecution against the Presbyterians in Scotland. Whatever either of truth or of falsehood might be in the alleged conspiracy to assassinate the king and the Duke of York, it is clear that neither the Scottish nor the English patriots had any hand in it whatever.* Exasperated at the tyranny of Charles, and anticipating still more dreadful oppressions under the reign of his popish brother, Monmouth, Sydney, Russell, and one or two other English noblemen frequently consulted with each other what measures ought to be adopted to effect the deliverance of the nation. They naturally turned their eyes to Scotland, and accordingly entered into a correspondence with several of the most emi-

* This plot—which appears never to have been properly formed—was the device of one or two English republicans, and had no connexion with the consultations which were entered into between several of the friends of religion and liberty in both kingdoms, to devise measures for preventing the succession of the Duke of York. See Hume, vol. viii. p. 186, et seq. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 940.

nent Presbyterians in that kingdom. But after several conferences—in which an invasion by Argyle was proposed—the Scottish adherents, perceiving the ruinous nature of the undertaking, declined having any further hand in it, and the measure at that time was abandoned. These conferences having, however, come to the ears of government, Russell and Sydney were seized and executed, (Burnet, vol. ii. p. 960, et seq.) the Scottish gentlemen who were in England were arrested and sent to Scotland for trial; and proclamations were issued for the apprehension of others who were suspected of being connected with the conspiracy. A public thanksgiving was at the same time ordered to be observed “for his majesty’s deliverance from the fanatical conspiracy,” with a threat appended, against all who disobeyed this mandate, of being punished as “contemners of the royal authority.” About the same time, Alexander Gordon of Earls-ton, who had joined the united societies of the Covenanters, and was commissioned by them to represent their deplorable condition to the Protestant churches on the continent, was arrested at Tynemouth when about to

embark for Holland, on suspicion of being connected with the conspirators, and thrown into prison. (Faithful Contendings, p. 66.)

The fatal effects of these proclamations and seizures will be afterwards seen, when we come to take a view of the proceedings of the council during the year 1684. In the mean time, we shall notice a few additional instances of the cruelty and oppression of the persecutors on those against whom no crime, except that of adhering to Presbyterian principles, could be charged.

In the beginning of June, a party of the military having seized a countryman of the name of Alexander Smith, a few miles from Glasgow, were proceeding with him to Edinburgh, when they were opposed at Inchbelly-bridge by a number of his friends in arms. A skirmish ensued, in which several on both sides were wounded, and one of the soldiers was slain. The country people proved victors, and having rescued the prisoner, they marched off in a body in the greatest order. Enraged at this defeat, the soldiers, shortly afterwards, proceeded to search the neighbourhood, and having surprised John Wharry and James Smith, who were both unarmed, and utterly ignorant of

the rencontre, they immediately apprehended them and dragged them to Glasgow. When brought before the circuit court, they in vain pleaded their innocence ; it was enough that they were seized near the place where the soldier was killed ; they were accordingly condemned to have their right hands cut off, and to be executed at Glasgow, and their bodies to be hung in chains at Inchbelly-bridge. These martyrs, who were put to death on the 13th of June, left no other testimony than what is contained in two letters addressed by them to their parents, in which they eminently display their unshaken faith, their holy joy, and their Christian resignation to the will of their Redeemer. (Cloud of Witnesses, p. 237. Scots Worthies, pp. 452 — 455.)

Other five individuals were condemned to death at that time by the Glasgow circuit court, and the time of their execution referred to the council, by whom it would appear they were reprieved. But it is impossible to give any further detail at present of the proceedings either of that circuit or of the others which were held in almost every county. Each of them was cruelly oppressive ; multitudes being driven by them from their

homes, and forced to become wanderers in a country, the laws of which made it death for any individual either to converse with or supply them with food, and yet from which they were not permitted to make their escape.

Notwithstanding the vigilance of the council and their numerous agents, it is somewhat remarkable that none of the assassins of Sharpe—except Hackston of Rathillet, who was executed for the part he had acted at Airmoss—had fallen into their hands. They were at length gratified, however, by the seizure of Andrew Guilan, who was apprehended on the 12th of June, simply for non-conformity, and afterwards artfully ensnared into something like a confession that he was present at the primate's death.* At one of his examinations, M'Kenzie, in expatiating on the aggravating circumstances which attended the murder of the bishop, having said that "when Sharpe was upon his knees praying, they killed him," Guilan exclaimed, "O dreadful! he would not pray one word for all that could be said to him."

* Guilan was by trade a weaver, and, living in the neighbourhood of Magus moor, was called out on that occasion to hold the horses of those by whom the deed was perpetrated.

This was enough. He was immediately indicted; his confession produced as sufficient evidence against him, and the following sentence pronounced: "That he be taken to the cross of Edinburgh on the 20th of July, have both his hands cut off at the foot of the gallows, and then be hanged; his head to be cut off and fixed at Cupar, and his body to be hung in chains at Magus moor." (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 463.) He endured his sufferings with great fortitude, vindicating the part he had acted, and declaring that "it was no more than justice that was executed on that Judas, who sold the kirk of Scotland for fifty thousand merks a-year." (Cloud of Witnesses, p. 233.)

That the vengeance of the council should have fallen in its utmost severity on Guillian, was what might have been expected. But what excuse can be brought forward for the numerous "legal murders" which were committed on those against whom the shadow of a crime could not be proven? For example, Robert Hamilton, of Monkland, a regular hearer of the curates, was indicted before the justiciary court on the 24th of July, charged with "keeping a council of war with the bishop's murderers, conversing with

them, and receiving rent from tenants after they had been at Bothwell.” Hamilton clearly proved, that when the west country army was encamped in the vicinity of his house, one of his children had wandered, and supposing him to be in the crowd, he went thither, and having found him, immediately returned home; and in respect to converse, all he had spoken to any of the Covenanters was, his giving an advice to his brother-in-law to leave the rebels. But M’Kenzie had the audacity to declare, that it was not the intention with which he went to the rebels’ camp, but the fact of his being there, that he had to do with, and on that ground alone Hamilton was condemned to be executed on the 10th of August! On his taking the test, however, the sentence of death was changed for an exorbitant fine; and in a short time afterwards he died, in consequence of the cruel treatment which he had received. (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 464.)

Having, in the course of three days, imprisoned upwards of one hundred individuals for non-conformity—several of whom were liberated on taking the test—the council continued to imbrue their hands in the blood of the innocent. John Dick, a student of medi-

cine, was examined on the 29th of August, and having boldly avowed his principles—maintaining the lawfulness of the rising at Bothwell, and expressing his abhorrence of the test—he was indicted on the 4th of September, found guilty, and condemned to be executed on the 28th. The examination of George Lapsley, miller in Linlithgow, which took place about the same time, is too interesting to be passed over with such brevity. He was called before them while employed in reading the Bible, which he carried with him under his arm, and was examined as follows: “*Q.* Wherefore are you in prison? *A.* For hearing the gospel. *Q.* Do you go to church? *A.* No. *Q.* Wherefore? *A.* Because they are not the sent ministers of Christ, and because of their perjury. *Q.* Will you own the king’s authority? *A.* According to the word of God and covenants, and no otherwise, which you have broken and burnt, and for which the Lord will be avenged. *Q.* Was the bishop’s death murder? *A.* I am not concerned with his life or death either. *Q.* Was Hackston’s death a murder? *A.* Yes, and all those whose lives you have taken these two-and-twenty years. *Q.* What book is that under your

arm? *A.* It is the acts of the parliament of heaven, and I charge you, as ye shall answer at the great day, when ye and I shall stand on equal terms, that ye judge according to what is contained in it. *Q.* Is it lawful to resist the king's forces at the field meetings? *A.* Yes, the law of nature allows self-defence, and the word of God and our covenants to stand to the defence of one another." Previous to being indicted, however, this undaunted Covenanter, together with Mr. Dick, already condemned, and twenty-four other individuals, escaped out of prison, by means of cutting the iron bars of a window; and it is not a little remarkable, that not one of them was retaken except Mr. Dick, who was apprehended next year. (Scots Worthies, p. 464.)

During the time of these persecutions, Mr. James Renwick, who was ordained at Groningen, in the United Provinces, returned to Scotland, and was not only heartily welcomed by the poor wanderers, but immediately chosen to be their minister. (Faithful Contendings, p. 104.) However desperate the undertaking, he resolved to follow the example of Cameron and Cargill, and preach either in the fields or in houses as he should

have opportunity. At the first field meeting, which was held in a moss at Darmead, in the month of November, he distinctly explained his principles, showing why he could not conscientiously join either with the curates; or the indulged. (Life of Renwick, p. 63.) His public condemnation of the indulgence, together with all the other defections of the times, was, on the one hand, highly resented by the indulged ministers; and, on the other, it furnished the council with a new pretext for increasing the persecution, and, as we shall afterwards see, rendering the country little else than “a field of blood.”

CHAPTER VI.

Court of justiciary proceedings—trial of Sir Hugh Campbell of Cesnock—the evidence against him confounded—he is acquitted—executions at Glasgow—death of Captain Paton—Spence and Carstairs tortured—trial of Baillie of Jerviswood—his striking appeal to M’Kenzie—he is found guilty and executed—rescue of a minister and several Covenanters at Entreken Pass—increased persecution—examples—case of Porterfield of Duchal—executions in Edinburgh—dreadful sufferings of the Covenanters—Mr. Renwick condemned in absence for holding conventicles—Apologetical Declaration—its effects—proceedings against those who refused to disown it—the indulgence recalled—oath of abjuration.

EACH succeeding year of this dismal period of Scottish history exhibits a picture still

darker and more revolting than that of its predecessor. So many atrocities were committed in 1684, and in the years following, that it is but a few here and there of which we can give any account. But these alone brought forward will much more than confirm the emphatic designation of "killing time" being too justly applied to the period which intervened between 1684 and the Revolution.

We shall commence with giving some account of several trials which took place before the court of justiciary. On the 18th of February, George Martin, John Ker, and James Muir were indicted before that court, for "treason," or rather for refusing to abandon the Presbyterian faith. Their confessions, as usual, were the only evidence adduced against them, and sentence of death followed. They were executed on the 22d, and died expressing their joy that "they were counted worthy to suffer for the name of Christ." (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 57.) These martyrs were followed to the scaffold by Mr. John Dick, who escaped out of prison in the preceding September, but was retaken in the beginning of March, and ordered to be executed on the 5th of that month. Having ad-

dressed the spectators in language most affecting, he mounted the ladder with firmness and holy joy, and, looking around him, said, "I remember a passage of Abraham, who was commanded to sacrifice his son Isaac; he having, in obedience to the command, brought his son to offer him up a sacrifice, reared up an altar, and Isaac said to him, 'Here is the altar, and there is the wood, but where is the sacrifice?' (and then pointing to the gibbet and the ladder, he said,) here is the altar and the wood, and (laying his hand on his breast) blessed be God here is a free-will offering, and I will give it willingly and cheerfully; yea, I can say it here, even upon the brink of eternity, that these several years I have preferred the glory of God, the welfare and prosperity of the work and interest of Christ and his people, to my own private and particular interest; and I might have shunned such a death as this, but, God knows, I durst not do it." (Scots Worthies, p. 481.)

The trial of Sir Hugh Campbell of Cessnock, who was apprehended on suspicion of being accessory to the Rye-house plot, deserves particular notice, showing, as it does, the iniquity, barbarity, and profaneness of the existing administration. Determined on

his death, and yet having no evidence to convict him of being connected with the plot, M'Kenzie found it necessary to indict him on a charge of being guilty of rebellion at Bothwell. He was accordingly indicted before the court on the 24th of March, on the following charge: "That Sir Hugh having, in June, 1679, met with Daniel Crawford in Galston, Thomas Ingram in Borelands, John Ferguson in Catharingill, and several other of the rebels, at or near the bridge-end of Galston, asked them where they had been; and, when they told him they had been with the westland army, he said that he had seen more going to them than coming from them; and having asked them if they were to return, they told him they knew not. Whereupon he treasonably said, that he liked not runaways, and they should get help if they would bide by it; and bade them take courage, or some such words to that purpose. The debates on the relevancy were exceedingly tedious. Cesnock offered to prove, that on the day these persons passed the bridge of Galston he was at his own house. The court, however, found the charge relevant, and the trial proceeded. In vain

did Cesnock's council produce evidence that the witnesses against their client were suborned, and guilty of deadly malice; M'Kenzie argued against every objection, and his quibbles were adopted as sound doctrine by the court. Two witnesses for the crown were then brought forward, namely, Ingram and Crawford; but when the former held up his hand to swear, Cesnock, fixing his eyes upon him, addressed him in the words following: "Take heed now what you are about to do, and damn not your own soul by perjury; for as I shall answer to God, and upon the peril of my own soul, I am here ready to declare, I never saw you in the face before this process, nor spake to you." Confounded at this unexpected appeal, Ingram retracted what he had said against Cesnock in his precognition, declaring that he never heard him utter the words charged against him in the indictment. The spectators immediately expressed their satisfaction by a shout, which so enraged M'Kenzie, that he declared, "he believed Cesnock had hired his friends to make this acclamation, in order to confound the king's evidence, and he never heard of such a Protestant roar, except in the

trial of Shaftesbury ; that he had always a kindness for that persuasion* till now, that he was convinced in his conscience, it hugs the most damnable trinket in nature." (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 91.) When silence was restored, the justice-general again interrogated Ingram ; but he refused to give any other evidence. Attempting to repeat the question a third time, Nisbet of Craigentenny, one of the jury, rose and said, that though Ingram should be examined twenty times, they would receive his first deposition only. "Sir," said the justice-general, "you are not judges in this case." "Yes, my lord," replied the Laird of Drum, another jurymen, "we are the only competent judges as to the probation, though not of its relevancy." Crawford, the other witness, swore that he had not seen Cesnock for a considerable time, either before or after Bothwell. The jury, of course, returned a verdict of not guilty ; yet Cesnock was remanded to prison, his estate forfeited, and shortly afterwards he was sent to the Bass. The jury were forced to make an apology for creating a riot in

* Truly the Presbyterians were little indebted to the *kindness* of so determined an enemy to every thing that savoured of genuine godliness.

court, and the witnesses were laid in irons. (Burnet, vol. ii. p. 1000. Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 92. Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i. p. 287.)

While the council and justiciary court were thus employed, the five following individuals, viz. John Richmond, James Winning, Archibald Stewart, James Johnston, and John Main, were tried before the military commission court at Glasgow. They were charged with being either themselves at Bothwell, or holding converse with the rebels who were in that engagement; and though the depositions of the witnesses were not only insufficient to criminate them, but in many points contradictory, the prisoners were found guilty, and condemned to be executed at Glasgow on the 19th of March. As a specimen of the injustice of this trial and sentence, we shall notice the case of John Richmond only. In conformity with the lawless mode of procedure then adopted, he was seized by the military while quietly walking along the streets of Glasgow, and upon his endeavouring to escape, he was pursued, overtaken, and most cruelly treated, though, as yet, they even knew not who he was. He was immediately carried to

the guard-house, his hands and feet were bound together, and he was left for some hours lying upon the ground, bleeding of his wounds. When before the court, he was accused of being at Airmoss, but in proof of this only one witness alleged that he saw him there, and when cross-questioned, that witness acknowledged he was half a mile distant. Yet this was held sufficient evidence to take away a man's life ! The whole of these martyrs "finished their course with joy," and, like Stephen, the protomartyr, spent their last moments in praying for their murderers. (Cloud of Witnesses, p. 265. Scots Worthies, p. 482.)

Among the numerous "rebels" whose names appeared on the fugitive roll—which was shortly afterwards printed, containing a list of eighteen hundred and sixty-three names—none was more obnoxious to the council than Captain John Paton of Meadowhead, as having held a command both at Pentland and Bothwell. To their unspeakable gratification this "notorious rebel" was at length apprehended, and after a preliminary examination, indicted for treason on the 16th of April. His confession before the council was deemed sufficient evidence

against him, and he was sentenced to be executed on the 23d. He was, however, respited till the 9th of May, when he suffered death with a fortitude, cheerfulness, and Christian exultation that astonished his very persecutors. (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 65.)

It is impossible, however, to enumerate all the "legal murders" committed by a blood-thirsty administration on an unoffending people. Death alone seemed too trifling a punishment, and torture, the most exquisite and revolting, was therefore added; one instance of which we have in the case of Arthur Tacket, who, for refusing to divulge the name of the preacher at a conventicle, was most inhumanly tortured, and then executed.

If the simple attendance at conventicles was attended with such fatal effects, we may conceive something of the cruelty of government against those who were accused of being accessory to the Rye-house plot. A letter from Argyle, written in cipher, having been intercepted, Mr. William Spence, his lordship's secretary, was put to the torture, in order to extort from him a disclosure of the secrets which it contained. Nothing, however, having been elicited, the council, with a barbarity to which the Spanish inquisition

alone furnishes a parallel, ordered Spence to be kept from sleep night and day, by regular watches. And when even this failed, he was again subjected to the torture by means of the *thumbiekins*. At length, wearied out by suffering, Spence acknowledged that various consultations had been held for the purpose of preventing the succession of the Duke of York, and securing the preservation of the Protestant religion, but that nothing had been said regarding assassination—all which he proved by deciphering Argyle's letter. (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 97. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 1005.) Enough however was divulged to implicate Mr. William Carstairs and Baillie of Jerviswood, who were immediately subjected to inquisitorial examination.

Carstairs was tortured for an hour and a half; but nothing further could be extorted from him "than what amounted to loose discourse as to what might be proper to be done for securing religion and liberty from the dangers they were in, without any design against the royal persons of the king or his brother." (Burnet, vol. ii. p. 1006.) Baillie, of Jerviswood, again, who had been for some time in prison, was particularly obnoxious to the council. Though within a few weeks of his

dissolution, his trial was hurried on, and, as usual, M'Kenzie uttered a virulent harangue against the prisoner, clearly evincing the determination of the council to accomplish his destruction. Notwithstanding his indisposition, Jerviswood addressed the jury in the following affecting language :—"There is one thing which vexes me extremely, and wherein I am injured to the utmost degree, and that is for a plot to cut off the king and his royal highness. I am in all probability to appear, in some hours, before the tribunal of the Great Judge, and in presence of your lordships and all here, I solemnly declare, that never was I prompted or privy to any such thing, and that I abhor and detest all thoughts or principles for touching the life and blood of his sacred majesty or his royal brother." Then turning to M'Kenzie, "My lord," said he, "I think it very strange you charge me with such abominable things; you may remember that when you came to me in prison, you told me such things were laid to my charge, but that you did not believe them. How then, my lord, come you to lay such a stain upon me with so much violence? Are you now convinced in your conscience, that I am more guilty than be-

fore? You may remember what passed between us in prison." All eyes were now turned on M'Kenzie, who blushed, as well he might, while he attempted to vindicate himself by the following base declaration: "Jerviswood," said he, "I own what you say; my thoughts there were as a private man; but what I say here is by special direction of the privy council;" and pointing to Paterson the clerk, added, "he knows my orders." "If your lordship have one conscience for yourself," replied Jerviswood, "and another for the council, I pray God forgive you; I do;" and turning to the justice-general, he added, "My lord, I trouble your lordships no further." Notwithstanding this open avowal of the injustice of Jerviswood's trial, the good man was declared guilty, and condemned to be executed, his head to be fixed on the Netherbow port of Edinburgh, and his body quartered and distributed in different parts of the kingdom; which unjust sentence was executed in every particular, to the everlasting infamy of his murderers, and his own unspeakable and eternal gain. (Fountainhall, vol. i. p. 327. Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 112. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 1010.)

But leaving for a little these dismal transactions, we shall give an account of a bold and successful effort of a small party of Covenanters to rescue their brethren from the fangs of their inhuman tormentors. In the end of July, a numerous field meeting was held in Nithsdale, not far from Drumlanrig castle, at which about sixty of the hearers appeared in arms. They had scarcely assembled when an alarm was given that they were betrayed, and that two parties of dragoons were marching to attack them; upon which the people immediately separated. When the military came forward, they found the congregation dispersed; but were opposed by three hundred Covenanters who had chosen their ground, and were resolved to stand on their defence. Not daring to encounter that determined band, the dragoons pursued the stragglers, and having seized six or eight unarmed men with the minister, they bound them, and proceeded with them on the road to Edinburgh. Their route lay through a steep and narrow pass on Entrekin hill, by which the military heedlessly conducted their prisoners. "This Entrekin," says the author of *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*, "is a very steep and dangerous mountain;

and had not the dragoons been infatuated from heaven, they would never have entered such a pass, without well discovering the hill above them. The road for above a mile goes winding, with a moderate ascent, on the side of a very high and steep hill, till on the latter part, still ascending, and the height on the left above them being still vastly great, the depth on their right below them makes a prodigious precipice, descending steep and ghastly into a narrow deep bottom, only broad enough for the current of water to run that descends upon hasty rain. The passage on the side of the first hill is narrow ; so that two horsemen can but ill pass in front, and if any disorder should happen to them, they are in danger of falling down the said precipice on their right, where there would be no stopping till they came to the bottom."

Through this pass the dragoons were slowly proceeding, when they were suddenly arrested by a voice calling to them from the hill above. It was misty, and nobody was at first seen ; but the commanding officer halted, and inquired who called, and what was wanted. He had no sooner spoken, than twelve of the countrymen made their

appearance. The officer reiterated his inquiry, and commanded them to stand. But one of the countrymen, who seemed to be their leader, having ordered his men to "make ready," asked the officer, "Sir, will ye deliver our minister?" "No, sir," was the reply, "an ye were to be damned." At which the leader of the countrymen fired, and shot him through the head, when both the rider and his horse fell over the precipice and were dashed in pieces. The rest of the twelve were preparing to fire, when the officer next in command requested a truce. The whole party were indeed in a situation so dreadful, that not one of them durst stir a foot, or offer to fire a shot; and had the countrymen given a volley, they would all have been driven headlong down the side of the mountain into the dreadful gulf below. To add to their consternation, some travellers, who appeared at the head of the pass, and seeing the military, stepped aside to allow the soldiers to march forward, were supposed to be another party of armed countrymen.

Having no choice, therefore, the officer again asked what were their demands. "Deliver our minister," was the reply. "Well,"

rejoined the officer, "ye's get your minister, an ye will promise to forbear firing." "Indeed we'll forbear," said the countrymen, "we desire to hurt none of you ; but ye must deliver all the prisoners." Compelled to accede to these demands, the officer ordered the prisoners to be unloosed, and suffered to depart. He first, however, addressed the minister, saying, "Sir, I let you go, and I expect you promise to oblige your people to offer no hinderance to our march." The minister having promised to do so, "Then go, sir," added the officer, "you owe your life to this damned mountain." "Rather, sir," rejoined the minister, "to that God that made this mountain."

Having obtained the prisoners, the countrymen were marching away in triumph, when the officer again called to their leader, and pointing to the travellers at the head of the pass, said, "I expect you'll be as good as your word ; and call off those fellows you have posted at the head of the way." "They belong not to us," was the reply, "they are unarmed people waiting till you pass by." "Say you so?" rejoined the officer, "had I known that, you had not gotten your men so cheap, or come off so free." "And are

ye for battle, sir," said the countrymen, "we are ready for you still; if you think you are able for us, ye may try your hands; we'll quit the truce if ye like." "No," replied the officer, "I think ye be brave fellows, e'en gang your gate."*

This rescue roused the indignation of the council to the highest pitch. Proclamations were issued, and military crusades ordered to be made throughout the district to apprehend the parties concerned. The cruelties which followed are almost incredible, if indeed any thing, however barbarous and illegal, can be imagined too revolting for so disgraceful an administration either to have planned or carried into effect. Confiscation, imprisonment, banishment, torture, or death, was the lot of all who but hesitated to renounce their religion, and perjure their own souls at the command of the meanest and most worthless sentinel. The circuit courts made dreadful havoc

* Mem. of the Church of Scotland, pp. 193, 194.—The same author adds, "The officer of dragoons was threatened with a council of war for this affair; and whether he was not broke for cowardice, I am not certain; but this I am certain of, that had the best of them been upon the spot, they must have done the same, or have resolved to have made a journey headlong down such a hill as would have chilled the blood of a man of good courage but to have thought of."—Wodrow gives a somewhat different account of this rescue.

among those whom the military first plundered and then dragged to their bar ; and to prevent any escaping from the kingdom, no vessel was allowed to sail without being searched. Desolation and misery were, in short, spread throughout the land. For not only were the emissaries of a government, “drunken with the blood of the saints,” hired to plunder, oppress, and murder without discrimination, but, to use the words of inspiration, the fearful command was both issued and enforced, for “brother to deliver up the brother to death, and the father the child, and the children to rise up against their parents, and cause them to be put to death.”

We are at no loss to adduce proofs of these dreadful charges. Alas ! they are so many. One or two instances, however, will fully corroborate all that we have stated. In regard to fines, something of their enormous amount may be conceived from the fact, that in the county of Roxburgh alone, the sum imposed on a few of the chief heritors for the absence of their ladies from church was £22,500 sterling ; while from six of the gentlemen in Renfrewshire were extorted upwards of £19,000. (Crookshank, vol. ii. p. 225.) But the case of John Porterfield of Duchal is perhaps as

glaring an instance of disgraceful tyranny as we can select. His chief crime consisted in not having *revealed* an application made to him by Sir John Cochrane, for fifty pounds, to the Earl of Argyle, though he had decidedly refused to give one shilling to the applicant. To accomplish their iniquitous project, M^rKenzie submitted to the lords of session a query, of the following tenor, regarding this new species of crime: "It being treason by the common law and ours, to supply and comfort declared traitors, and it being treason by our law to conceal treason: *Quaeritur*, Whether Sir John Cochrane, having asked of Porterfield of Duchal, who was not related to the late Earl of Argyle, the sum of fifty pounds sterling for the said earl's use, being a declared and notour traitor, and Duchal not having revealed the same to his majesty, or his officers, whereby the prejudice that might have followed thereupon might have been prevented, is not the foresaid concealing, and not revealing, treason?" To which their lordships gravely returned the following answer, "That in their judgment the concealing and not revealing in the case foresaid, is treason!" Duchal was consequently indicted, condemned, and his

estate forfeited. Nay, before sentence was pronounced, Lord Melford, the very judge that condemned him, had the gift of his estate. (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 138.)

The immense numbers imprisoned for non-conformity rendered it necessary to devise measures for disposing of the offenders. As many as possible were condemned to death: but, after forfeiture, transportation was the most effectual and summary method of getting rid of the obnoxious Presbyterians. One ship load after another was accordingly despatched to America, where the unhappy victims were sold for slaves, and any little money given them by their friends was violently taken from them by their persecutors. John Gate, for example, thatcher in Glasgow, while at work on a house where some of the military were drinking, was ordered to come down and drink the king's health. Aware of his danger, he waved the toast, for which he was carried along with the party, thrown into prison, and shortly afterwards transported to Carolina, leaving a wife and eight helpless children in a state of the utmost destitution. Yet though multitudes were torn from their families and doomed to perish in a foreign land, voluntary banishment was pro-

hibited. Several gentlemen of Clydesdale having petitioned the council to allow them to transport themselves to America, were denied their request. "His majesty," said the infamous Queensberry, "may get £10,000 sterling from them, and he may then dispose of them as he thinks proper."*

Although the test was originally framed for those only who held places of trust, it was soon imposed on every individual throughout the kingdom, and all who scrupled to take it were treated as enemies to government. Claverhouse and Lagg were the most violent in enforcing that unhallowed oath, and torture or death was the penalty inflicted for non-compliance with it. Robert Ferguson, James McMichan, Robert Stewart, and John Grieve, for simply refusing to take the test, were shot by Claverhouse in Galloway, and their bodies for some time prevented from being interred. The example of the superior officers was implicitly followed by their subalterns, who with impunity put prisoners to death without even the form of a trial. (Life

* Fountainhall, vol. i. p. 319.—This avaricious tyrant, like his companions in iniquity, was far more concerned for his own aggrandizement from fines imposed on the Presbyterians, than for the increase of the revenue to government.

of Renwick, p. 91.) For no crime whatever, William Shirinlaw, a youth of eighteen years of age, being apprehended while walking peaceably along the highway, was ordered to be shot by Lauder, a petty officer in the garrison of Sorn. (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 177.)

While searching the country for the party concerned in the rescue at Entrekin, Claverhouse apprehended Thomas Harkness, Andrew Clark, and Samuel M'Ewen, three individuals who had no concern in that affair. Like many of their persecuted brethren they were under hiding, and were seized by the bloodhounds when fast asleep in the fields. When taken, though wounded by the shot of the soldiers, they were not permitted to have their wounds dressed. In this state they were conveyed first to Lanark and then to Edinburgh, where they arrived on the 15th of August. On being brought before the council, they firmly denied having been at the rescue of the prisoners; but upon three of the soldiers deponing that they had seen them there, and that the wounds they had upon them had been then received—a statement obviously false—they were forthwith remitted to the justiciary court, condemned, and executed on the very day on which they

arrived in Edinburgh. (Scots Worthies, p. 514.)

Among the spectators at the execution of these three martyrs, was an eminent Christian of the name of James Nichol, who, in the bitterness of his spirit, having said in the hearing of those around him, "These kine of Bashan have pushed these three good men to death at one push, contrary to their own base laws, in a most inhuman manner," was immediately seized and carried to prison. Being brought before the council and examined, he was remitted to the justiciary court. His own confession was the only proof against him; yet on that confession he was condemned, and executed on the 27th of that month, along with William Young, another unoffending Presbyterian. (Cloud of Witnesses, p. 302. Scots Worthies, p. 516.)

One example more of the cruelty of these persecutors towards even children will be sufficient at present. It is from the pen of one of the Covenanters themselves; and, though it took place several months before the period of which we are treating, is too affecting to be omitted. "It was designed by my friends," says the writer, at that time in his thirteenth year, "that I should go and

stay with a kinsman of my father's; but, upon second thoughts, without any foreseen reason, it was judged more proper to send my younger brother, which was a kind providence to me; for shortly after he went, there was a party of the enemy came to that man's house, to search for some of the persecuted party. When the people of the house saw the enemy coming they fled out of the way; but the cruel enemy got my dear brother into their hands. They examined him concerning the persecuted people, where they haunted, or if he knew where any of them were; but he would not open his mouth to speak one word to them. They flattered him; they offered him money to tell where the whigs were; but he would not speak. They held the point of a drawn sword to his naked breast; they fired a pistol over his head; they set him on horseback behind one of themselves, to be taken away and hanged; they tied a cloth on his face, and set him on his knees to be shot to death; they beat him with their swords and with their fists; they kicked him several times to the ground with their feet: yet after they had used all the cruelty they could, he would not open his mouth to speak one word to them; and

although he was a very comely child, going in ten years of age, yet they called him a vile ugly dumb devil, and beat him very sore, and then went their way, leaving him lying on the ground, sore bleeding, in the open fields. (Memoirs of James Nisbet, pp. 69, 70.)

Notwithstanding the terror of such atrocities, conventicles were held by Mr. James Renwick in various parts of the country. The most sequestered spots were sought out, and resorted to by many, whose only consolation on earth now was, to enjoy, though at the risk of their lives, divine ordinances in purity. (Hind Let Loose, p. 159.) These meetings were extremely galling to the council, who determined not only to suppress them, but to accomplish the destruction of all their supporters. Mr. Renwick—who was designated a vagrant preacher—having been cited to appear before them, was intercommuned, and rewards were offered for his apprehension. (Faithful Contendings, p. 149.) Proceeding a step further, the council, on the 19th of September indicted him, in absence, before the court, “for being at Bothwell-bridge, and preaching at field conventicles, at Blackloch, Welshole, Craig, Spittalhole,

Greenock, and other places, and teaching, "that the king was no king but a tyrant." Being cited, and not appearing, "they discern him outlaw and fugitive, and order him to be put to the horn."* Mr. Renwick, however, was neither deterred from preaching the gospel to his persecuted countrymen by the threats of the council, nor appalled at the anticipation of the sufferings which lay before him. (Life of Renwick, p. 81.) "None of these things moved him, neither did he count his life dear unto himself, so that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry which he had received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God."

The people who adhered to this persecuted minister were equally determined, cost what it would, not to abandon their principles. Their condition was indeed truly pitiable. Hunted like wild beasts from mountain to mountain, they were forced to seek refuge in caves, in woods, or in mosses, whither they were pursued, sought out, and

* It was not the tyranny of either king or judges that Mr. Renwick particularly insisted on in his sermons. His great aim was to preach the gospel of Christ, the doctrines of which were unknown to, or disregarded by, the prelates and their underlings.—See Renwick's Sermons.

such as fell into the hands of their enemies put to death upon the spot.* To converse with them, or supply them with any of the common necessities of life, or even to forbear giving intimation of their places of concealment was declared treason. Spies and informers were hired and encouraged, and rewarded with the spoils of the persecuted; and to complete the work of cruelty a new cess was levied to maintain a standing army for accomplishing the destruction of the covenanters.

The patience and Christian resignation with which all these miseries were endured by the persecuted, can be accounted for only on the ground that their principles were vastly different from those which their enemies in the present day so unjustly lay to their charge. Human nature, however, could hardly be expected to submit to such dreadful oppression without using some efforts to obtain relief. The covenanters were cast out

* It is stated by Wodrow, that "wonderful were the preservations of the persecuted about this time. The soldiers frequently got their clothes and cloaks, and yet missed themselves. They would have gone by the mouths of the caves and dens in which they were lurking, and the dogs would snook and smell about the stones under which they were hid, and yet they remained undiscovered."—Hist., vol. iv. p. 174.

of the protection of law ; they were denied an asylum in a foreign land ; and they were uncertain but that every moment might be their last. In circumstances like these, we cannot wonder at their taking a step which though liable to some degree of censure, seemed almost imperative, and one which, it will be kept in mind, was taken with the greatest reluctance. This was the publication of a paper entitled “The Apologetic Declaration and Admonitory Vindication anent Intelligencers and Informers,” which was drawn up and affixed on many of the market crosses and church doors in the month of October. After mentioning their renunciation of the authority of Charles, and their declaration of war against him and his accomplices, it runs in the following terms : — “That therein our mind may be understood, and for preventing further mistakes anent our purpose, we do hereby jointly and unanimously testify and declare, that, as we utterly detest and abhor that hellish principle of killing all who differ in judgment or persuasion from us, it having no bottom upon the word of God or right reason ; so we look upon it as a duty binding upon us to publish openly unto the world,

that for as much as we are firmly and really purposed not to injure or offend any whomsoever, yet we do hereby declare unto all, that whosoever shall stretch forth their hands against us, while we are maintaining the cause and interest of Christ against his enemies, in defence of his covenanted religion, by shedding our blood actually, either by authoritative commanding, such as bloody councillors, especially that so called justiciary, generals of forces, adjutants, captains, &c., who make it their work to imbrue their hands in our blood ; or by obeying such commands, such as bloody militia men, malicious troopers, soldiers and dragoons, &c., or who deliver up any of us into their hands to the spilling of our blood ;—such as designedly and purposely advise, counsel, and encourage them to proceed against us to our utmost extirpation, by informing against us wickedly and wittingly, such as viperous and malicious bishops and curates, and all such sort of intelligencers, who lay out themselves to the effusion of our blood, together with all such as, in obedience to the enemies their commands, raise the *hue and cry* after us : We say, all and every one of such shall be reputed by us enemies to God and the

covenanted work of reformation; and punished as such according to our power and the degree of their offence, chiefly if they shall continue, after the publication of this our declaration, obstinately and habitually with malice to proceed against us any of the foresaid ways.—We are sorry at our very hearts that any of you should choose such courses, either with bloody *Doeg* to shed our blood, or with the flattering *Ziphites* to inform persecutors where we are to be found. So we say again, we desire you to take warning of the hazard that ye incur by following such courses; for the sinless necessity of self-preservation, accompanied with holy zeal for Christ's reigning in our land, and suppressing of profanity, will move us not to let you pass unpunished. Call to your remembrance, All that is in peril is not lost, and all that is delayed is not forgiven. Therefore expect to be dealt with as ye deal with us, so far as our power can reach; not because we are actuated by a sinful spirit of revenge for private and personal injuries, but mainly because by our fall, reformation suffers damage," &c. (Informatory Vindication, pp. 96—100. Life of Renwick, p. 80.)

Whatever degree of censure may be due

to some expressions in these extracts, it is impossible to read them without feelings of indignation at the persecutors, whose tyranny and cruelty had driven a sober and religious people to such extremities. That the Covenanters had no desire to take away the lives of their enemies, is evident. All that they aimed at was to impress their minds with a wholesome terror. This end was in some measure gained: informers were terrified, and the persecution was not so violent for some time after the publication of this paper. (Faithful Contendings, p. 150.) It is indeed alleged that the Apologetic Declaration led to the commission of murder; and two instances are brought forward, namely, that of two soldiers at Swine-Abbey, and the curate of Carsphairn. But it has never yet been ascertained whether any of the Covenanters had a hand in the former; nay, says Wodrow, "I am assured the society people refused to admit some persons to their fellowships, whom they suspected to be concerned in this murder."* The latter, again, was publicly disowned and con-

* Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 153. The names of these soldiers were Kennoway and Stewart, a detail of whose lawless, persecuting, and cruel conduct is given by the same author, and of which we have already taken some notice.

demned by the society people. "We do hereby disclaim," say they, "all unwarrantable practices committed by any few persons, reputed to be of us, whereby the Lord hath been offended, his cause wronged, and we all made to endure the scourge of tongues, for which things we have desired to make conscience of mourning before the Lord both in public and private."*

But while the publication of this paper struck a salutary terror into the minds of several of the informers, it increased the fury of the council, who lost no time in devising new and still more cruel measures against these undaunted non-conformists. An act was accordingly passed on the 22d of November, which not inappositely has received the title of "*bloody*," ordaining "every person who owns, or will not disown, the late treasonable declaration upon oath, whether he have arms or not, to be immediately put to death, in presence of two witnesses, and the person or persons having commission from the council for that effect." (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 155.) Commissions were also

* Life of Renwick, p. 89. "The actors," adds Shields, "were ever since excluded from their communion."

given to several noblemen, gentlemen, and military officers "to convocate all the inhabitants (in a number of parishes named,) men and women, above fourteen years of age; and if any own the late traitorous declaration or assassination of the soldiers, you shall execute them by military execution upon the spot: and if any be absent, ye shall burn their houses and seize their goods," &c. These instructions were not only carried into effect to the very letter, but all the inhabitants of a parish being convened, questions were put to them concerning the king's authority, their adherence to prelacy, &c. and the soldiers sitting on horseback around them with drawn swords, were ready to execute on them the sentence of death if they but hesitated to return satisfactory answers to these inquisitorial interrogatories.

As a corresponding accompaniment to these severities, the indulgence was recalled, and all the indulged ministers were obliged "to give bond not to exercise any part of their ministry in Scotland." Several of them were sent to the Bass, others were banished to the plantations, and not a few were immured in prisons. From this period, in short,

till the toleration in 1687, Presbyterian ministers were prohibited from exercising their ministry in any part of the kingdom.

To complete their infamous work, the council framed an "oath of abjuration," renouncing the Apologetic Declaration and its authors, and promising never to assist them in any point. A proclamation was at the same time issued, "prohibiting all past the age of sixteen years, to presume to travel without certificates of their loyalty and good principles, by taking the oath of abjuration; with certification, that all who shall adventure to travel without such certificate, shall be holden and used as connivers with the said rebels." (Life of Renwick, p. 90.)

The sufferings of the Covenanters which followed, were truly appalling. But instead of harrowing up the feelings of the reader with additional instances of atrocity, we shall close this year with the following extract from a sermon by the eloquent Dr. Charters. "In the midst of the fiery furnace of persecution," says that writer, "men appeared assuming the high character of witnesses for God, and maintaining it in the face of danger and death. Though few in number, like the gleanings of grapes after the vintage, and a

few berries on the outermost bough, they lifted up the fallen standard of religious liberty. They would swear no oaths, subscribe no bonds, take no test, nor yield to any imposition on conscience. They testified against all the arbitrary persecuting acts of Charles, and published acts of their own, disowning the king, excluding the Duke of York, and declaring war in defence of their religion and of their lives. The avowal of disaffection was the signal of death, and by means of mercenary spies and traitors, many of them were seized and executed. They denounced vengeance on the spies, admonishing both the bloody Doegs and flattering Ziphites to remember ‘All that is in peril is not lost, and all that is delayed is not forgiven.’ The coward race were appalled by a threatening that came from men without falsehood and without fear. Their standard on the mountains of Scotland indicated to the vigilant eye of William that the nation was ripening for a change. They expressed what others thought, uttering the indignation and the groans of a spirited and oppressed people. They investigated and taught under the guidance of feeling, the reciprocal obligations of kings and subjects, the duty of self-defence

and of resisting tyrants, the generous principle of assisting the oppressed, or in their language, *helping the Lord against the mighty*. These subjects, which have been investigated by philosophers in the closet, and adorned with eloquence in the senate, were then illustrated by men of feeling in the field. While Lord Russel, and Sidney, and other enlightened patriots in England, were plotting against Charles, from a conviction that his right was forfeited, the Cameronians in Scotland, under the same conviction, had the courage to declare war against him. Both the plotters and the warriors fell; but their blood watered the plant of renown, and succeeding ages have eaten the pleasant fruit." (Charters' Sermons, pp. 273—277.)

CHAPTER VII.

Cruel proceedings of the council and the military—examples—death of Charles II.—accession of James VII.—extreme sufferings of the Covenanters—murder of John Brown and Andrew Hislop by Claverhouse—two women drowned at Wigton—meeting of Parliament—iniquitous acts passed by that assembly—Argyle's invasion—precautions used by the council to defeat it—prisoners sent from Edinburgh to Dunnotter castle—their barbarous treatment—Argyle defeated and taken prisoner—his execution—Rumbold and Archer put to death—James exempts the papists from all religious oaths—declaration of the Cameronians against the accession of James to the throne—continued severities—execution of John Nisbet of Hardhill.

WERE it not of necessity we should willingly forbear giving any account of the cold-blooded murders and other dreadful atrocities which were committed on the Covenanters during the year 1685. In justice to their memory, however, as well as to give a still further display of the proceedings of the persecuting government which at that period lorded it over an oppressed people—a government that can find defenders even in the present day—we shall select a few out of many instances of cruelty, oppression, and blood which this year displays.

The exorbitant fines which were imposed for non-conformity proved the ruin of thou-

sands throughout the kingdom. To fines were added imprisonment and banishment; but as if both these punishments were in themselves trifling evils, the former was aggravated by the addition of torture, and the latter by first cutting off the ears of the exiles, and then dooming them to perpetual slavery. Murders in various forms completed the scene, the instances of which are so numerous that we are at a loss which to select. The council, the military commission courts, and the soldiers, seemed to vie with each other in putting to death the greatest number of Presbyterians.

For simply not disowning the societies' declaration, Robert Millar and Robert Pollock were executed at the Gallow-lee on the 23d of January, each of whom left a testimony for the cause in which they suffered, and against all the defections of the times. (Cloud of Witnesses, p. 322, et seq.) On the same day six poor men being found by the military at *prayer*, in the parish of Monigaff, Galloway, were, without any trial, cruelly shot. Another party of Covenanters was surprised by a troop of horse in Nithsdale, all of whom escaped except Daniel M'Michal, who being wounded was carried

to Durrisdeer. Declining to answer a number of their ensnaring interrogatories, Dal-yell said to him, "Do you not know your life is in my hand?" "No, sir," replied Daniel, "I know my life is in the Lord's hand, and if he see good, he can make you the instrument to take it away." He was then ordered to prepare for death next day; to which the good man answered, "If my life must go for his cause, I am willing; my God will prepare me." Being granted liberty to pray—a favour now very seldom conferred on the sufferers—he was shot through the head, and interred in the church-yard of Durrisdeer. A more glaring instance of cruelty was committed by Captain Bruce at Straiton in Carrick, who having put the usual questions to Thomas Machassie, while lying in the rage of a fever, and not receiving satisfactory answers, dragged him from his bed, and ordered him to be shot. (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 239.)

Deeds equally illegal and atrocious were committed by the courts appointed to enforce the abjuration oath. One example of their proceedings may at present suffice. John Park and James Algie having been apprehended by the military on the the 1st of Febru-

ary, were brought before the commissioners for the shire of Renfrew, condemned, and ordered to be executed. Anxious for their preservation, several of their friends prevailed with them to take the oath ; but the Laird of Orbiston, the presiding judge, informed them that swearing the abjuration oath would not save them, unless they took the test also. "Then," replied the two martyrs, "if to save our lives we must take the test, and the abjuration will not save us, we will take no oath at all." The sentence was accordingly executed ; all who attended their funeral were compelled to declare that their punishment was just ; and Orbiston exultingly exclaimed, with an oath, "They thought to have cheated the judges, but I have cheated them." (Crookshank, vol. ii. p. 246.)

During these bloody proceedings, Charles II. was removed by death ; and though the dissolution of that monarch did not suspend, it modified for a short period the persecution against the Covenanters.

According to several accounts, the king was struck with apoplexy, (Hume's Hist., vol. viii. p. 209,) which put a period to his life on the 6th of February. Other historians, however, say that his end was hastened by poi-

son, (See Burnet, vol. ii. p. 1047,) or other means still more dreadful, at the instigation of the Duke of York.* But whether he died a natural death, which we more than suspect, or by violent measures, it is generally admitted that he ended his days in the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church. From a popish priest he received extreme unction, the pardon of all the sins which he had committed against God, and the full assurance of a crown of glory ! To give any character

* York and his cabal, says Veitch, poisoned both the wine and the snuff which the king used at an entertainment. Next morning, "Charles finding himself 'deadly sick,' and suspecting the cause, got to the window, crying 'I'm gone, I'm poisoned.' The duke getting notice, came running in haste, all undrest, to lament his brother's fate, saying, 'Alas, Sir, what's the matter?' who answered, 'O, you know too well,' and was in great passion at him. In the mean time he called for his closet keeper to fetch him an antidote against poison ; but it could not be found, neither his physicians, being, as it was thought, sent out of town. When he saw all these things fail him, being enraged at his brother, he made at him ; but he having secured all the entries to the court, that the sentry should tell if any courtiers or bishops, upon the news, should offer to come in to see how the king was ; they were to tell them that he was gone to bed out of order, and had discharged all access to him that he might be quiet. And, in the mean time, the duke seeing him in such a rage, and that the poison was not like to do so quickly, set four ruffians upon him, at which he crying out so as he was heard, they presently choked him in his cravat, and so beat him in the head that he instantly died."—M'Crie's *Memoirs of Veitch*, p. 163.

of this worthless monarch is almost unnecessary. From the preceding history, a scene of hypocrisy, perjury, tyranny, cruelty, we had almost added blasphemy, is exhibited against him, over which historians may attempt to throw a veil, but for which posterity, in every age, will hold his memory in just detestation. The Presbyterians, in particular, can never recall to their minds the abominable and bloody deeds of this tyrant without horror. Well might Mr. Douglass, who preached the sermon at his coronation, have addressed him in the language of that passage of Scripture which first met his eye when he sat down to choose his text, "Write ye this man childless, a man that shall not prosper in his days; for no man of his seed shall prosper, sitting upon the throne of David, and ruling any more in Judah."* Whatever may have been his private character, which however was any thing but amiable, his open and unblushing persecution of the men who

* Jer. xxii. 30.—It is said that Mr. Douglass never required to search long for a text; on the contrary, the first passage of Scripture which appeared when he sat down to study was usually so clear to his mind that he adopted it, and preached from it to the people. Being appointed to preach the coronation sermon in 1651, the above words first met his eye when he opened the Bible; but not willing to offend, he chose another text.

adhered to those very covenants which he once solemnly swore, but afterwards deliberately violated, must render his name infamous, and his memory odious to every genuine friend of religion and liberty throughout these kingdoms. "His ambition," says Fox, "was directed against his subjects; unprincipled, ungrateful, mean, and treacherous, to which may be added, vindictive, and remorseless. I doubt whether a single instance can be produced of his having spared the life of any one whom motives of policy or revenge prompted him to destroy."

No sooner did intelligence of the death of Charles reach Edinburgh, than the Duke of York was proclaimed king in his room, the privy council declaring James VII. "to be their only lawful, lineal, and rightful liege lord, to whom they acknowledge all faith and constant obedience. It was deemed unnecessary to tender the coronation oath to a monarch who was declared to be "king over all persons and in all causes, and to hold his imperial crown from God alone." That ceremony was consequently omitted by the council, though the omission was not forgotten by the Presbyterians; and numerous adulatory addresses were sent up to London,

expressing the unbounded satisfaction which was felt by the nation at the accession of a popish prince to the throne.*

No change being made in the administration, the council, and military, with full consent of James, continued, or rather increased the persecution against the Presbyterians. Captain Bruce having, on the 19th of February, seized six Covenanters in the parish of Kirkpatrick, Galloway, put four of them to death on the spot. The other two were carried before Grierson of Lagg, who ordered them to be hanged on an adjoining tree. Edward Kyan, in the parish of Barr, for endeavouring to elude the military lest he should be teased with their ensnaring questions, was not only shot, but his dead body used in a most barbarous matter; and his murder was followed by that of six others in a parish adjoining. Insult, too, was com-

* Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 202.—In Wellwood's Memoirs there is a translation of some inscriptions of the most fulsome and even blasphemous kind, by the Jesuits, on the accession of James and death of his brother Charles; such as "English noblemen were sent to other kings to acquaint them with King James's accession to the crown; but Charles was the first that brought the news of it to heaven." "It was but natural for kings to send and receive princes as ambassadors, but it became the Almighty to receive and James to send no ambassador but a king!!"—p. 191.

monly added to cruelty. Mr. Bell, of Whiteside, with four other gentlemen, having been sentenced by Lagg to be instantly shot, requested only fifteen minutes to prepare for death; but he was answered by the barbarian, "What the devil, have you not had time enough since Bothwell?" and the sentence was instantly executed. (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 242.)

The fury of the persecutors was exceedingly increased in consequence of the appearance of Mr. Peden, who setting the sanguinary and unjust laws of government at defiance, preached either in fields or in houses as he found opportunity. The following affecting picture of the sufferings of the Covenanters who ventured to attend upon his ministry is from the pen of one of themselves: "On the 26th of April it pleased God in his good providence, to send that great man Mr. Alexander Peden, to the gentleman's house where I was. He preached on the 10th of John, from which he spoke long and well, with application to the present time. Next morning the servants and I went to work in the fields, where before nine o'clock we saw a troop of dragoons coming at the full gallop. Mr. Peden and

those that were with him in the house fled, which we at work knew nothing of; but we ran every one as providence directed, and the watchful providence of God, which was ever kind to me, led me as by the hand to a moss, two miles distant from where we were working, to which those with Mr. Peden were fled for shelter. Two of the dragoons pursued me very hard; but spying another man following me, him they pursued off at the right hand of my way. They fired at him; but it pleased the Lord he escaped at that time. Other two of them came in chase of me. I was sore put to it for my life. The day was very hot; the sun bright in my face, and the way mountainous; yet the Lord was very kind to me, and enabled me to run. At the edge of the moss there was a bog or morass; and here the Lord was a present help in the time of need to me; for just as I was got through the bog, and drawing myself out of it by the heather of the moss, the two dragoons came to the other side; but seeing they could not get through to me with their horses, they bade me stand dog and be shot. They fired upon me; but God directed the ball by my left ear. I finding that I had escaped the shot,

ran further into the moss. Kind Providence led me just where my persecuted friends were lurking in a moss-hag, about twenty in number. We stayed there for some time, till a second troop joined the first troop; and seeing them dismount their horses, to take the moss on their foot to search us out, after some firing on both sides, without any execution done, we drew off, and travelled the midst of the moss. They seeing this, horsed again, and pursued us by the edges of the moss; but we always kept ourselves on such ground where horses could not come. We ran that day hither and thither, forward and backward, about thirty miles. We got no manner of refreshment all that day but moss-water to drink till night, that each of us got a drink of milk. Mr. Peden left those that were with him, and went one way; and I left them and went another. I lay all night far from any house amongst heather. The next day when I wakened, after the sun rose, I saw about two hundred foot and horse searching all the country far and near; but seeing no way of escape unobserved by the enemy, I clapped close among the heather, and so kind and condescending was the Lord to me, that not one of the enemy came near

the place where I lay ; the Lord laying on me no more than I was able to bear." (Mem. of James Nisbet, pp. 103—106.)

A most atrocious instance of cruelty which took place on the 29th of April, on five individuals in the parish of Glencairn, is given by Wodrow in the following simple and affecting terms : "The occasion of their being seized, and of the taking and surprising of several others of the wanderers at this time, was this. A profligate villanous informer and apostate, Andrew Watson, pretended to be a sufferer, and last winter and this spring, went up and down among the people who were upon their hiding. By this time this base deceiver came to be tolerably well acquainted with their haunts and lurking-places, and discovered them through Gallo-way and Nithsdale ; and among others he made known a cave near Ingliston, which had been a place of safety and secrecy to not a few for several years. Accordingly Colonel James Douglas, and Lieutenant Livingstone, through bye-paths and unusual ways, came suddenly to this cave, and surprised in it John Gibson, heritor of the ground, James Kennoch, Robert Edgar, Robert Mitchell, and Robert Grierson. When the soldiers

came up, they shot in on the cave, and wounded one of them, and then rushed in upon them; and without any questions asked, or offers made, Colonel Douglas immediately passed sentence upon them, to be taken out and shot, though nothing could be laid to the charge of any of them, but that they were hiding. It was much that any of them were allowed to pray before their death. John Gibson was first shot, and permitted to pray, which he did to the admiration and conviction even of the soldiers themselves. The rest were despatched all at once, without being allowed to pray separately. They had great peace and consolation, and all of them were shot dead, except one who was not perfectly killed; and when this was observed, one Ferguson, an apostate, and once among the sufferers, now in the army, drew his sword, and thrust him through the body. When the poor man was weltering in his blood, and that of his brethren about him, he cried out, 'Though every hair of my head were a man, I am willing to die all those deaths for Christ and his cause.' These were his last words. They lie buried in Glencairn church-yard." (Wodrow, vol. iv pp. 243, 244.)

But the inhuman deeds which were committed by other persecutors were far outdone by those of Claverhouse. This officer had the chief command in the west, and he employed the most disgraceful and barbarous measures against the Covenanters, endeavouring, if possible, to exterminate the whole party. He sought out and employed persons who could with the greatest address feign themselves to be pious men, and friendly to the Presbyterians, and by this means discovered their retreats, or drew them from places where they could not be attacked by his troops. Having divided the country into districts, he caused his soldiers to drive all the inhabitants of a district, like so many cattle, to a convenient place; and while the soldiers surrounded them with charged guns and bloody threatenings, he made them swear that they owned James as rightful successor to the throne. If they had formerly taken the test or oath of abjuration, he interrogated them if they had repented of what they had done, and then caused them to swear anew, that they would not, under pain of forfeiting their part in heaven, repent of it in future. If any hesitated to swear, he was taken out, his face covered

with a napkin, and the soldiers were ordered to shoot over his head to terrify him into compliance. At other times he gathered together all the children of a district, from six to ten years of age, and having drawn up a party of soldiers before them, told them to pray, as they were going to be shot. When sufficiently frightened, he offered them their lives, provided they answered such questions as he proposed to them, concerning their parents and such as visited their houses; nay, he himself fired his own pistol twice over the head of a boy of nine years of age, to induce him to discover his father. (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 256.)

So “exceedingly mad” was this champion for tyranny and slavery against all who favoured presbytery, that he frequently shot those who fell into his hands, though they were unarmed, without any form of trial; and when his soldiers, sometimes shocked at the wantonness of his cruelty, hesitated in obeying his orders, he executed them himself. We have one striking example of this kind in the case of John Brown, in the parish of Muirkirk. Brown was a man of excellent character, by employment a carrier, and no way obnoxious to government, ex-

cept for non-conformity. On the 1st of May he was at work in the fields near his own house, when Claverhouse passed on his road from Lesmahagow with three troops of dragoons. It is probable that information of his non-conformity had been given to Graham, who caused him to be brought from the fields to his own door. After some interrogatories, Claverhouse said, "John, go to your prayers, for you shall immediately die." Upon which the martyr kneeled down, and poured out his heart in language so affecting, that the soldiers, profane and hardened as they were, were moved almost to tears. He was twice interrupted in his devotions by Claverhouse; and when he had finished, the cruel wretch ordered him to take farewell of his weeping wife, and two infant children who stood beside him. "Now Isabel," said the martyr, "the day is come of which I told you when I first proposed marriage to you." "Indeed, John," she replied, "I can willingly part with you." "Then," he added, "this is all I desire: I have no more to do but die; I have been in case to meet death for many years." After he had kissed his wife and children, "wishing them

all purchased and promised blessings," Claverhouse ordered his soldiers to fire. But the prayers of the good man had made such an impression on their minds, that they decidedly refused to have any hand in his death. Irritated at the delay, Claverhouse shot him dead with his own hand, regardless of the tears and entreaties of the poor man's wife, and then turning to the widow, with wanton cruelty, asked her what she thought of her husband now? "I ever thought much good of him," she replied, "and as much now as ever." "It were but justice to lay thee beside him," rejoined the murderer. "If ye were permitted," said she, "I doubt not but your cruelty would go that length: but how will you answer for this morning's work?" "To man I can be answerable," replied the hardened villain, "*and as for God, I will take him in mine own hand!!*" and immediately rode off. The poor woman then laid her infant on the ground, gathered together the scattered brains of her beloved husband, bound up his head, covered his body with her plaid, and sat down and wept over him. (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 245. Crookshank, vol. ii, p. 265.) Say, reader, what

must be the feelings of a historian who can attempt to eulogize such a man as Claverhouse?

The most hardened persecutor does not, however, always feel that tranquillity of mind which he affects. Claverhouse himself acknowledged afterwards, that John Brown's prayer left impressions on his mind which he found it impossible to eradicate; and it is not improbable that some degree of remorse at this horrid murder, made him show considerable reluctance to another which he committed only ten days after. Having seized Andrew Hislop, he carried him with him to the house of Sir James Johnstone, of Westerraw, without any design, it would appear, to put him to death. Westerraw insisted on his immediate execution, which was at first opposed by Claverhouse; but he at length acquiesced in it, saying, "The blood of this poor man be upon you, Westerraw; I am free of it." A Highland gentleman, who was traversing the country, having come that way with a company of soldiers, Claverhouse meanly endeavoured to make him the executioner of Westerraw's sentence; but that gentleman, having more humanity, drew off his men to

some distance, and swore that he would fight Claverhouse sooner than perform such an office. Having no other alternative, Claverhouse ordered three of his own men to fire. When ready, they desired Hislop to draw his bonnet over his face ; but this the martyr decidedly refused, informing them that he had done nothing of which he had reason to be ashamed, and could look them in the face without fear ; and then holding up his bible in one of his hands, and reminding them of the account which they had to render, he received the contents of their muskets in his body. (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 259.)

On the very day that Hislop suffered, viz. the 11th of May, the military commission court at Wigton committed an action still more unnatural and base. Two girls of the name of Wilson, for refusing to hear the curates, had been intercommuned and forced to become wanderers on the mountains. Having ventured at this time to visit Margaret M'Lauchlan, an aged widow in Wigton, the three females were seized, brought before the court, and condemned to be drowned. The life of the youngest of the sisters was purchased by the father for one hundred pounds : but the other, who was about eighteen years

of age, together with the venerable and pious matron, in whose house she was apprehended, were tied to stakes within the flood-mark of the water of Blednoch. The widow being fixed furthest in, was first drowned; but her dying agonies, instead of shaking the constancy of her youthful companion, confirmed her in her resolution to prefer suffering to sin; and when taunted by her persecutors with "what her thoughts were at the sight," she replied, "What do I see but Christ and his members wrestling there? Think you that we are the sufferers? No, it is Christ in us; for 'he sends none a warfare on their own charges.'" Having sung the 25th psalm and prayed, the water flowed over her; but before she was quite dead, her executioners, with a shocking refinement in cruelty, pulled her out, and waiting till she recovered, asked her if she would pray for the king. "I wish," she replied, "the salvation of all men, and the damnation of none." One of the spectators, deeply affected, exclaimed, "Dear Margaret, say, 'God save the king.'" With the greatest composure she replied, "God save him, if he will, for it is his salvation I desire." On which several of her relatives earnestly cried to Wind-

ram, "Sir, she hath said it, she hath said it." But the unfeeling wretch desired her to swear the abjuration oath; which having refused, she was again plunged into the water and drowned.*

Amidst these heart-rending scenes the first parliament of James VII. met at Edinburgh. It was opened by Queensberry on the 28th of April, with a letter from the king, in which his majesty says, "That which we are at this time to propose, is, what is as necessary for your safety as our service, and what has a tendency more to secure your own privileges and properties than the aggrandizing our power and authority, though in it consists the greater security of your rights and interests, these never having been in danger except when the royal power was brought too low to protect them, which now we are resolved to maintain in its greatest lustre, to the end we may be the more enabled to de

* Cloud of Witnesses, p. 330.—That the death of these two martyrs was *murder*, even in the eye of the base laws then in force, is evident from the following reprieve which was granted by the council, but disregarded by their executioners: "Margaret Wilson and Margaret M'Lauchlan, under sentence of death, pronounced by the justices, are continued till—and the lords of his majesty's privy council recommend it to the secretaries to procure their remission."—Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 249.

fend and protect your religion as established by law, and your rights and properties, against fanatical contrivances, murderers, and assassins, who having no fear of God more than honour for us, have brought you into such difficulties, as only the blessing of God upon the steady resolutions and actings of our dearest royal brother, and those employed by him in prosecution of the good and wholesome laws by you heretofore offered, could have secured you from the most horrid confusions and inevitable ruin. Nothing has been left unattempted by those wild and inhuman traitors for endeavouring to overturn your peace; and, therefore, we have good reason to hope that nothing will be wanting in you to secure yourselves and us from their outrage and violence in time coming." (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 249.) In commenting upon this letter, the commissioner denominated the Covenanters "desperate and fanatical wretches, of such monstrous principles and practices, as past ages never heard, nor those to come will hardly believe."* This invective was followed up

* The character given of the Covenanters by James and his minion is exactly what belongs to those monsters in human shape, who, placed beyond, and ruling without, all law, either divine or human, trampled upon every

by acts quite consistent with a parliament "who had made a resignation of themselves, without reserve," to a popish king. Three of these acts deserve particular notice. By the first it was declared, "That the giving or taking the national covenant, as explained in the year 1638, or of the league and covenant, (commonly so called,) or writing in defence thereof, or owning them as lawful or obligatory upon themselves or others, shall infer the crime and pains of treason." The second of these acts converted the illegal practices of the council into a law. "Considering," said this statute, "that the lords of the privy council, and others commissionate by his majesty and them, have fined husbands for their wives withdrawing from ordinances, the parliament declares the said procedure to have been legal, and ordains the same to be observed in all time coming." And by the third, the sentence of forfeiture, and all the proceedings against Porterfield of Duchal, were confirmed, "declaring the same to be agreeable to the laws of the kingdom,

thing sacred, and delighted in nothing so much as in pouring out like water the blood of the saints. The ages to come will, indeed, hardly believe that such barbarians as James, Queensberry, and their coadjutors were ever placed at the head of a Christian community.

and that the concealing or not revealing of supplies given to or demanded for traitors, is treason, and to be judged accordingly.”

In addition to these iniquitous acts, the parliament extended the punishment of death to hearers as well as preachers at conventicles; declaring the worshipping of God in a private house, if five individuals more than the members of the family were present, to be treason; and ordered the test to be imposed on all heritors, liferenters, and tacksmen, *papists alone excepted*. The proceedings of this disgraceful parliament were finished by the forfeiture of a great number of gentlemen, and annexing their estates for ever to the crown. (Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i. p. 36, et seq. Laing, vol. iii. p. 167. Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 259, et seq.)

Before the rising of parliament, the Earl of Argyle, according to previous agreement with the Duke of Monmouth, and a number of exiled gentlemen, sailed with an expedition for Scotland, with the view of “recovering the religion, rights, and liberties of that kingdom.”* No sooner did intelligence

* The meeting by which this expedition was agreed upon, was held at Amsterdam on the 17th of April. The persons present were the Earl of Argyle, Mr. Charles

of this expedition reach the ears of the council, than every precaution was used to defeat the invasion. The whole fencible men in the country were called out; the heritors in Argyleshire were summoned to Edinburgh; and the earl's relatives were secured. All this was what might have been expected; but the dreadful cruelty which was inflicted on many of the Covenanters, who were at that period shut up in prison, can admit of no apology. On the 18th of May these prisoners, both men and women, to the number of about two hundred and forty, were suddenly collected, hurried down to Leith, and conveyed in open boats to Burntisland. Here they were crammed into two small rooms in the tolbooth, scarcely sufficient to contain the third part of them, and, without regard to age or sex, detained there for two days without being permitted to have even bread and water. At length the oath of supremacy was tendered to them, which was accepted by about forty only, who were

Campbell his son, Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree, Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart, George Pringle of Torwoodlee, William Denholm of Westshiels, George Hume of Bassindean, John Cochrane of Waterside, Mr. George Wisheart, William Cleland, James Stuart, advocate, and Mr. Gilbert Elliot.—Memoirs of Brysson, p. 311.

sent back to Edinburgh; the rest refusing to confer the headship of the church on an avowed papist. The hands of these two hundred victims were then tied behind their backs, and they were driven north by the military. The sufferings which they endured on their journey, chiefly from the cruelty of their drivers, were such, that several of them died, and not a few contracted diseases from which they never recovered. They arrived at Dunnottar, the place of their destination, on the 24th of May, and were thrust into a dark vault in the castle that had but one small window, and was full of mire ankle-deep. In this dreadful place they were pent up almost the whole summer, without air, without ease, without room either to lie or walk, and without any comfort except what they enjoyed from heaven. They were obliged to purchase the very worst of provisions at an exorbitant rate; and even water was refused them without money. Unable to answer the exorbitant demands of their persecutors, many of them soon died, or were rather either famished, or suffocated, which induced the governor to remove them to other apartments; and about the end of the year such as survived were

sent to the plantations and sold for slaves. (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 323. Crookshank, vol. ii. p. 278.)

Argyle arrived at Orkney on the 4th of May, with about three hundred men; but being prevented from landing, he sailed to Argyleshire, where he published a declaration, which seems to have had but little effect. He was accompanied by Sir Patrick Hume and Sir John Cochrane, who in several instances opposed his measures, which hastened, unintentionally indeed, the disastrous termination of the expedition. Opposed by an army of twenty-two thousand men, Argyle, whose followers never exceeded twenty-five hundred, after spending five weeks in the Highlands, where his arms and ammunition were seized, his provisions cut off, and his army diminished, resolved to penetrate into the Lowlands. Harassed by the numerous parties which were sent to oppose him, and worn out with hunger and fatigue, he at length reached Dumbarton, where, discovering a large party of horse in front, he resolved to try Glasgow. After wandering about for a short time longer, he arrived at Kilpatrick with no more than five hundred men; and in a few days afterwards,

his followers were defeated and dispersed, and himself taken prisoner. (Sir Patrick Hume's Narrative, p. 63.)

The very day Argyle was apprehended, about seventy of his followers, under the command of Sir John Cochrane, made a bold and successful stand against several troops of dragoons, which is thus related by one who shared in the combat:—"When we were advanced a good way up the hill," at a place called Muirdyke, on the east of Lochwinnoch, the king's troops "came suddenly upon us, and after firing thought to have ridden us down; but Sir John cries, 'Come up, my lads, and stand to it, and through God's grace I will bring you off.' Though there was little appearance thereof, yet we took courage, knowing the worst of it. And after we had received their fire, we discharged upon them very vigorously, and then betook us to our halberts, so that we made them retire. Then my Lord Ross sent one to treat with us, who told us we were pretty men; why would we throw away our lives? would we not take quarters? To which Sir John said, 'We disdain your quarters! for we are appearing here for the Protestant religion, and ye are fighting for Po-

pery, for which ye ought to be ashamed.' So he returned with his answer. In the mean time we got into an old stone fold, which was a little defence to us. Sir John divided us, and set one half on his right hand, and the other on his left, and gave orders to all to 'charge and make ready,' and ordered those on his left hand first to receive the enemy's fire, and after that not to fire till he gave them a sign. The enemy approached, and we received their fire, but fired none again until they came very near; and then Sir John gave the sign to those on his right hand, who gave a very close fire. The enemy not knowing but our shot had been done, attempted to come over the dyke, and break in amongst us, but the lads on the right hand defended bravely. Then Sir John gave the sign to those on the left, who fired furiously upon the enemy, so that several of their saddles were emptied, and amongst the rest Captain Cleland was shot dead at the very dyke side, so that they were forced to wheel again." A third attack was equally unsuccessful, the dragoons being beaten off with considerable loss. Sir John then said, "It becomes us to bless God for our wonderful preservation," upon which the whole

party immediately kneeled down and offered up their grateful thanks to Him, who can and often does make one chase a thousand. (McCrie's Memoirs of Brysson, p. 325, et seq.)

Argyle was brought to Edinburgh on the 20th of June, and conducted from the Watergate to the castle in a manner pretty similar to that of Hackston of Rathillet. The open avowal of his intention to overturn the existing tyrannical government, alone saved him from the torture ; and he was condemned, on the unjust and arbitrary sentence formerly pronounced on him to be executed, and his head to be fixed on the tolbooth of Edinburgh.* On the 30th, the day of his execution, he dined at his usual hour with great cheerfulness, and then as was his custom, retired to his closet to enjoy a little repose. While in bed, one of the members of council came to him with a message, and naturally disbelieving the information that his lordship was asleep, he insisted on seeing him. The door was accordingly softly opened, when beholding the earl enjoying a tran-

* Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i. p. 366. Burnet, vol. iii. p. 1084. "His death," says the last of these writers, "being pursuant to the sentence past three years before, was looked on as no better than murder."

quail slumber, he hurried out of the castle, and repairing to a relative's house in the neighbourhood, threw himself on a bed in the greatest agony of mind. Being asked the cause of his trouble, he replied, "I have been at Argyle, and saw him sleeping as pleasantly as ever a man did within an hour of eternity; but as for me——" (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 302.)

After a short repose, Argyle was conducted from the castle to the "laigh council-house," where he wrote the following short letter to his lady :

"Dear Heart—As God is of himself unchangeable, so he hath been always good and gracious to me, and no place alters it; only I acknowledge, I am sometimes less capable of a due sense of it; but now above all my life, I thank God I am sensible of his presence with me, with great assurance of his favour through Jesus Christ, and I doubt not it will continue till I be in glory. Forgive me all my faults, and now comfort thyself in him in whom only true comfort is to be found. The Lord be with thee, bless thee, and comfort thee, my dearest. Adieu. My dear, thy faithful and loving husband,
ARGYLE."

The earl then proceeded to the scaffold, which he ascended not only with firmness, but with heavenly joy. Turning to the spectators, he said, "I shall not now say any thing of my sentence or escape about three years and a half ago, nor of the ground of my return, lest I may thereby give offence or be tedious. That I intend mainly to say now is, to express my humble, and I thank God cheerful submission to his divine will, and my willingness to forgive all men, even mine enemies; and I am heartily well satisfied there is no more blood spilt, and I shall wish the stream of it may stop at me. We are neither to despise our afflictions, nor faint under them; both are extremes. We are not to suffer our spirits to be exasperated against the instruments of our trouble, for the same affliction may be an effect of their passion, yet sent to punish us for our sins. I do hereby forgive all that directly or indirectly have been the cause of my being brought to this place, and pray God may forgive them. I pray God send peace and truth to these three kingdoms, and continue and increase the glorious light of the gospel, and restrain a spirit of profaneness, atheism,

oppression, popery, and persecution, and restore all that have backslidden from the purity of their life or principles.”* He then turned to the south side of the scaffold, and said, “Gentlemen, I pray you do not misconstrue my behaviour this day. I freely forgive all men their wrongs and injuries done against me, as I desire to be forgiven of God.” Mr. Annand, an Episcopal clergyman who was appointed to attend him, repeated these words louder to the people, adding, “This nobleman dies a Protestant.” The earl immediately stepped forward, and said, “I die not only a Protestant, but with a heart-hatred of popery, prelacy, and all superstition whatsoever.” Having taken leave of his friends,

* Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 306.—It may be gratifying to the reader to read the following lines, which were written by Argyle the day before his execution:

“Thou passenger, that shalt have so much time
To view my grave, and ask what was my crime :
No stain of error, no black vice’s brand
Was that which chased me from my native land.
Love to my country, twice sentenced to die,
Constrained my hands forgotten arms to try.
More by my friends’ fraud my fall proceeded hath
Than foes ; though now they twice decreed my death.
On my attempt though Providence did frown,
His oppressed people God at length shall own.
Another hand by more successful speed,
Shall raise the remnant, bruise the serpent’s head.
Though my head fall, that is no tragic story,
Since going hence I enter endless glory.”

he kneeled down, and embracing the maiden* said, "This is the sweetest maiden I ever kissed, it being the mean to finish my sin and misery, and my inlet to glory, for which I long." After praying for a few minutes, he laid his head on the block, and with these words in his mouth, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit," his head was severed from his body. (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 305. Scots Worthies, p. 547.)

The suppression of this invasion, both in England and Scotland, was followed by the most dreadful cruelties. In England, on the defeat† and execution of Monmouth and his coadjutors, the bloody Jeffries put to death multitudes who had no concern whatever in that unsuccessful expedition. In Scotland, the vengeance of the council fell on all who bore the Presbyterian name. Six individuals were apprehended about the same time with Argyle, namely, Sir John Cochrane, Ayloffe,‡ Rumbold, Thomas Archer, Gavin Russel, and David Law, the last four

* The name given to the instrument of death.

† Monmouth was defeated at Bridgewater on the 6th of July.

‡ Sir John Cochrane and Ayloffe were sent to London, where the former was pardoned in consequence of a high ransom paid by his father, and the latter executed.

mentioned of whom were executed at Edinburgh.

The death of Rumbold was attended by cruelties the most revolting, his sentence being nearly the same with that of Hackston. He was so much weakened by his wounds, that he required to be supported to the scaffold by two officers, where he addressed the spectators in a speech to the following import:—"It is appointed for all men once to die, and after death the judgment, and seeing death is a debt all of us must pay, it is a matter of small moment and consequence what way it be done; but seeing the Lord is pleased to take me to himself in this manner, as it is somewhat terrible to flesh and blood, yet, glory to him, it is not terrible to me." He then proceeded to explain his principles, "blessing God that it was for no transgression of the divine law, but for owning and adhering to his distressed work and interest that such a lot was carved out for him," when he was interrupted by the beating of drums, at which he shook his head, saying, "Will they not suffer a dying man to speak his last words to the people?" He went on, however, declaring his confidence in the justice of the cause he was engaged in, and

added, "I confess enemies think they have got their feet on the neck of the Protestant interest now; but I am persuaded, it is as true as I am this day entering into eternity, that Christ shall be glorious in these lands, and even in poor Scotland, and that shortly: and, it is like, many who see me die this day may be witnesses thereof; yea, He shall govern these nations with a rod of iron, and that to the terror of his enemies." While praying for the extirpation of popery, prelacy, and every other superstition, the drums were again beat; upon which he submitted himself to the hands of the executioner, and died rejoicing in the Lord. (Scots Worthies, p. 550.)

Mr. Archer, a young and amiable minister, who was put to death on the 21st of August, left a large testimony to the cause for which he suffered. "It was always my judgment," said he, "and I hope to die in it, that the obligation of the covenants is national and indissoluble, and that even the posterity renouncing them shall be found guilty of horrid perjury and apostasy before God, since in them we first engaged immediately to serve him. I have lived, and desire to die, hoping that the Lord will yet glorify his grace and

gospel in the land, and that he hath not brought us under the bond of the covenant immediately to cast us off (though we deserve it,) but that the children which are yet to be created may praise him." When on the scaffold he said, "My motives for coming to Scotland in the manner I did, were the great apprehension I had of popery, and my regard to the kingdom and interest of Christ here; and I wish every one were concerned with the evils and dangers of popery." Being interrupted by one of the magistrates, he said, "You cannot deny but popery is hazardous, Rev. xiv. 9—11." "True, but there is no fear of it here," replied the other. "I wish to God it be so," rejoined Mr. Archer; "and what I have further to say is, that as Christ hath a kingdom wherein and over which he reigneth as king, so he will suffer none to usurp that power which is his own prerogative." Having spoken a few minutes longer amidst great interruption, he sung and prayed, and then yielded up his spirit into the hands of his Redeemer. (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 317.)

The death of these two individuals was followed by that of many throughout the country. Upwards of twenty who were ap-

prehended in the Highlands were hanged at Inverness, and vast multitudes, equally adverse to popery and tyranny, were banished to the plantations.

As a proper accompaniment to these sanguinary measures against the Presbyterians, James, by his dispensing power, exempted the Roman Catholics from the oaths and test appointed by law. "There is a clause," says he in a letter to the council, dated November 7, "in the act of supply, ordaining all the commissioners therein named, to take the oaths and test appointed by law, which clause we judge fit for our service, to require you to put vigorously in execution, excepting those in the list here inclosed, whom we have dispensed with from taking the same, and such as we shall hereafter dispense with under our royal hand." This mandate was implicitly obeyed by the council, who, while they showed an equal desire with their popish master to relieve the scruples of the Roman Catholics, continued to persecute to death the Presbyterians for their conscientious attachment to the principles of the Reformation. (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 347.)

James was no doubt encouraged in his persecuting schemes by the dismal proceed-

ings which took place this year in France—proceedings which opened the eyes of multitudes in Britain to the horrid nature of popery, and assisted in paving the way for the extirpation of the bigoted race of the Stuarts from the kingdom. Notwithstanding the solemn edict framed at Nantz in 1598 by Henry IV. in favour of the Protestants, the intolerant and blood-thirsty Louis XIV. thought proper this year to revoke it, in consequence of which, liberty of conscience was completely abolished, all the Protestant churches were destroyed, their books suppressed, their ministers banished, and an order was issued to take their children from them, and put them into the hands of their Roman Catholic relatives, that they might be educated in the popish religion. Every prison in France was soon filled with Protestants; a price was set on the heads of the rest, who were hunted by the soldiers like wild beasts; and, in short, about a twentieth part of the whole body in a few months fell by the sword.* But to return to Scotland.

* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 1125. Hume, vol. viii. p. 243. "This year," says Burnet, "must ever be remembered as a most fatal year to the Protestant religion. In February, the king of England declared himself a papist. In June, Charles the Elector Palatine dying without is-

Notwithstanding the anxiety of the society people, or Cameronians as they were called, to obtain deliverance for themselves and the nation from that intolerable yoke under which they groaned, they decidedly refused to join with Argyle. While they lamented his death they declared that they could not join in "his expedition, on account of the too promiscuous admittance of persons to trust in that party who were then and have discovered themselves since, to be enemies to the cause; and because they could not espouse their declaration as the state of their quarrel, being not concerted according to the constant plea of the Scots Covenanters." (Hind Let Loose, p. 164. Life of Renwick, p. 96.) Against the accession of the Duke of York to the throne, however, they published a large and pointed declaration, in which they say: "The Lord having removed Charles by death, and a few

sue, the electoral dignity went to the house of Newburgh, a most bigoted popish family. In October the king of France recalled and vacated the edict of Nantz; and in December the Duke of Savoy being brought to it, not only by the persuasions, but even by the threatenings of the court of France, recalled the edict that his father had granted to the Vaudois (Waldenses). So it must be confessed that this was a very critical year." Hist., vol. iii. p. 1120.

wicked and unprincipled men having proclaimed James, Duke of York, though a professed papist and excommunicated person, to be king of Scotland, &c. ; we, the contending and suffering remnant of the true Presbyterians of the church of Scotland, do here deliberately, jointly, and unanimously protest against the foresaid proclamation ; in regard that it is choosing a murderer to be a governor, who hath shed the blood of the saints—the height of confederacy with an idolater, which is forbidden by the law of God—contrary to the declaration of the assembly 27th July 1649, and to many wholesome and laudable acts of parliament, and inconsistent with the safety, faith, conscience, and Christian liberty of a Christian people, to choose a subject of antichrist to be their supreme magistrate.—Also conceiving that this pretended parliament is not a lawful parliament, in regard that the election of commissioners is limited—that the members are convicted of avowed perjury, are men of blood, the chief being convict of avowed perjury ;—we do, in like manner, upon these and many other important grounds and reasons, protest against the validity and constitution of this present parliament, and their

proceeding to any approbation or ratification of the foresaid proclamation.—And further, seeing bloody papists, the subjects of anti-christ, are become so hopeful, bold, and confident, under the perfidy of the said James, Duke of York, and popery itself like to be intruded again upon these covenanted lands, and an open door being made thereunto by its accursed and abjured harbinger Prelacy, which these three kingdoms are equally sworn against; we do, in like manner, protest against all kind of popery, in general and particular heads—abjured most explicitly by our national covenant, abrogated, annulled, and rescinded by our acts of parliament, and against its entering again into this land, and against every thing that doth or may, directly or indirectly, make way for the same.—Finally, we being misrepresented to many as persons of murdering and assassinating principles, all which principles and practices we do hereby declare, before God, angels, and men, that we abhor, renounce, and detest; as also all manner of robbing of any, whether open enemies or others, which we are most falsely aspersed with, either in their gold, their silver, or their gear, or any household stuff. Their money

perish with themselves; the Lord knows that our eyes are not after these things. And in like manner, we do hereby disclaim all unwarrantable practices committed by any few persons reputed to be of us—as the unwarrantable manner of killing the curate of Carsphairn, &c.; for we call the living God, the searcher of hearts, to witness, that this only is our sincere desire and unfeigned resolution, to continue in the profession and obedience of the true religion of Jesus Christ, according to his word, our covenants national and solemn league, to defend the same, and resist all contrary errors, corruptions, and innovations, according to our vocation, and utmost of the power that God doth or may put in our hands.” (Informatory Vindication, p. 101, et seq.)

As this declaration, however, was comparatively disregarded by the council, the persecution was continued without the smallest abatement. Banishment to the plantations, after cutting off the prisoners’ ears, tortures and cold-blooded murders in the fields, or in private houses, were now become almost every day occurrences. “The carnage,” says Fox, “became every day more general and more indiscriminate; and the murder of

peasants in their houses, or while employed at their usual work in the fields, by the soldiers, was not only not reproved or punished, but deemed a meritorious service by their superiors."

Neither were the council and justiciary court inactive. On the 6th of August, Thomas Stoddart, James Wilkinson, and Matthew Bryce, were tried, found guilty, and condemned to be executed on the 12th. The first mentioned of these martyrs had received sentence of banishment, but, with the usual *justice* of government, he was subsequently tried for his life. No witnesses were adduced; and two questions only were put to the prisoners: "Will ye take the oath of allegiance? Will ye own the authority?" These were all the interrogatories deemed necessary; and upon their refusing to acknowledge that authority except in so far as it was agreeable to the word of God, their doom was sealed. These three martyrs "finished their course with joy," dying in the firm belief of being "ever with the Lord." (Cloud of Witnesses, p. 332.)

But we shall close the history of this dismal year, by giving some account of the trial and execution of John Nisbet of Hardhill.

This eminent Christian, and staunch Covenanter, had appeared in arms both at Pentland and Bothwell, and was employed in publishing several of the declarations emitted by the Covenanters. He was of course particularly obnoxious to the government. At length, in November this year, with three of his companions in tribulation, he was surprised in a house in the parish of Fenwick, by Lieutenant Nisbet, his own cousin. His companions were killed on the spot; but he himself, after being dreadfully wounded, was seized and bound, his cousin, at the same time, insultingly inquiring at him, what he now thought of himself. "I think as much of Christ and his cause, for which I suffer, as ever," replied the good man; "but I judge myself at a loss, being in time, and my dear brethren, whom you have murdered, in eternity." The lieutenant, with an oath, told him that he had reserved him for a further judgment. "If the Lord stand by me," rejoined Nisbet, "and help me to be faithful to the death, I care not what piece of suffering I be put to endure."

Being then conveyed to Edinburgh—where his cousin demanded and obtained

the sum offered for his apprehension—he was immediately carried before the council and examined as follows:—“*Q.* Was you at the conventicle (naming the time and place)? *A.* Yes. *Q.* How many men and arms were there? *A.* I went there to hear the gospel preached, and not to take an account of what men and arms were there.

Q. Which way went ye when the preaching was done? *A.* The way we could best think of to escape your cruelty. *Q.* Where keep you your meetings? *A.* In the wildest moors and most retired places. *Q.* What do ye at these meetings? *A.* We sing part of a psalm, read the Scriptures, and pray time about.

Q. What is done at your general meetings? [When about to answer, one of the counselors interrupted him, stating, according to his idea of their proceedings, what was done at these meetings, adding that there was one of them kept in Edinburgh, and inquiring if the prisoner was there. To which he replied, that he was not.] *Q.* We hope you are so much of a Christian as to pray for the king? *A.* Prayer being an holy ordinance of God, we ought to pray for kings as well as others; but not when every profligate bids us. *Q.* Do you own the king as sole

sovereign? *A.* He being popish, and I a protestant of the Presbyterian covenanted persuasion, I neither can nor will own him while he remains such. *Q.* Were you and such as you clear to join with Argyle? *A.* No more than with you. *Q.* Would you have joined with Monmouth? *A.* No. "It seems," said one of them in jest, "they will have no king but Mr. Renwick," and inquired if he conversed with any other minister than Mr. Renwick, to which he replied that he did not.

Mr. Nisbet was indicted before the justiciary court on the 30th of November, for "being at Drumclog and Glasgow at the rebellion, fighting against his majesty's forces, being at a late field conventicle, and in arms and opposition to his majesty's forces when apprehended." He was found guilty on his own confession, and condemned to be executed in the Grassmarket on the 4th of December. In his last testimony, he says, "However it be that many, both ministers and professors, are turning their backs upon Christ and his cross—yet let not this weaken your hands; for I assure you it will not be long to the fourth watch; and then he will come in garments dyed in blood, to raise up

saviours upon Mount Zion, to judge the Mount of Esau, and then the house of Jacob and Joseph shall be for fire, and the malignants, prelates, and papists shall be for stubble, the flame whereof shall be great. But my generation-work being done with my time, I go to him who loved me and washed me from all my sins.”*

CHAPTER VIII.

State of the persecution—death of Mr. Peden—growth of Popery—riot in Edinburgh—divisions among the Covenanters—proceedings of parliament regarding the Roman Catholics—James grants toleration to the Papists by his own prerogative—proclamation against Mr. Renwick—continued persecution—examples—Informatory Vindication published—James’s first and second indulgences rejected by the Presbyterians—a third indulgence proclaimed—it is accepted by the greater part of the ministers—their address to the king—reasons of the society people for refusing the indulgence—their sufferings.

DURING 1686, and the two succeeding years, some mitigation took place in the persecution against the Presbyterians. The greater part of their ministers had been banished; those

* Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 238. Cloud of Witnesses, p. 338, et seq. “My father was the *tenth* of my nearest relations,” says his son, “that suffered death within the compass of seven years, to seal the noble cause with their blood.” Mem. of Nisbet, p. 134.

in the higher ranks attached to their cause, were either dead or forfeited; while multitudes of the people had been murdered, transported, imprisoned, or forced into a seeming compliance with Episcopacy. The work of persecution therefore necessarily languished for want of objects on which the cruelty of government might be exercised; and it is not at all improbable that it would, in a great measure, have ceased, had not the conscientious and unyielding followers of Renwick furnished the council and the military with renewed excuses for persevering in their deeds of cruelty and blood. James, besides, had formed the resolution of repealing the penal statutes against the Roman Catholics; and until that measure was fully accomplished, it was necessary that some mitigation should take place in the persecution against the Presbyterians. The antipathy of government to the Covenanters was however still the same, of which we shall have but too many instances in the history of the period which intervenes between this year and the revolution.

The fines which continued to be exacted for non-conformity were most exorbitant. One poor man, for example, in the parish of

Calder, was fined in two hundred pounds Scots for permitting a meeting for *prayer* to be held in his house, and those who were present, whether men or women, were compelled to pay sums correspondingly oppressive. The gift of these and of numerous other fines was conferred on William Stirling, one of the bailies of Glasgow, who exacted upwards of a thousand pounds Scots, in one parish alone, from the lower class of the people, without either citation or trial. An officer was despatched by him to the different houses in the parish, who threatened the inhabitants with immediate imprisonment, unless they gave him a bond for a certain sum of money, to be paid on a given day. Having no other alternative, the poor people were forced to comply, and to sell their horse or their cow to answer the bond when it became due. All these extortions were committed on persons who were regular hearers of the curates, but the sums of which they were robbed were pretended to be the punishment due to them for non-conformity several years before this period. (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 356.)

Denied the privilege of houses, many of the Presbyterians resorted to the woods for

the purpose of pouring out their hearts unto God; but even there they were interrupted, and when seized put to death on the spot. Yet notwithstanding these atrocities, the followers of Renwick persevered, not only in meeting together in private for mutual edification, but in resorting to those places where the word of life was faithfully and fearlessly preached by their minister, and other distinguished ambassadors of Christ by whom he was now assisted.

To the unspeakable regret of the Presbyterians, Mr. Alexander Peden—who had proved the means under God of comforting, edifying, and converting many, and whose memory was long held in grateful remembrance by the Covenanters—was removed by death from all his sufferings, on the 26th of January. Before his dissolution he requested an interview with Mr. Renwick, at whom he had manifested some displeasure, in consequence of the false accusations of several unworthy professors. On Mr. Renwick informing him of his principles, however, Mr. Peden was completely satisfied, and express-

* Faithful Contendings, p. 182.—Messrs. David Houston from Ireland, and Alexander Shields, the last mentioned of whom had recently escaped from prison, about this period joined Mr. Renwick. Life of Renwick, p. 118.

ed himself in the terms following:—"Sir, you have answered to my soul's satisfaction; I am very sorry that I should have believed such ill reports of you, which not only quenched my love to, and marred my sympathy with you, but made me express myself so bitterly against you, for which I have sorely smarted. Go on in a single dependence upon the Lord, and ye will get honestly through and clear off the stage, when many others who hold their heads high will lie in the mire and make foul hands and garments." (Life of Peden, p. 54. Scots Worthies, p. 421.) After Mr. Peden's body was interred, it was raised by a party of the military, and reinterred at the foot of the gibbet in Cumnock—another proof of the inhumanity of the persecutors, whose malice extended to the very dead in their graves.*

* The following interesting sketch of Mr. Peden's method of preaching cannot but gratify the reader:—"Although every act of worship that Mr. Peden was engaged in was full of sublime flights and useful digressions, yet they carried alongst with them a divine stamp; and every opening of his mouth seemed for most part to be dictated by the Spirit; and such was the weighty and convincing majesty that accompanied what he spoke, that it obliged his hearers both to love and fear him. He spoke often to the commendation of those who had really closed with Christ Jesus, by the power of his Holy Spirit, on gospel terms, and were willing to take up his cross, and venture their all for him."—Mem. of Nisbet, p. 183.

The growth of popery kept pace with the suppression of Presbyterianism. The clergy were prohibited from preaching against the religion of the monarch; no book that condemned the Romish faith was allowed to be sold; and meetings were held in which mass was publicly celebrated. Disgusted at these open indications of the partiality of government for the idolatries of Rome, a crowd, chiefly of boys, collected at the popish chapel in Edinburgh on the last Sabbath of January, and, while the people were dismissing, insulted several of the dignitaries who had countenanced the religion sworn against by the nation. (Burnet's Hist., vol. iii. p. 1157.) Some of the boys were apprehended and ordered to be whipped through the city, which occasioning a new riot, the military interfered, and a woman and two boys were killed. This tumult was construed by the council into a premeditated insurrection against the government, and an exaggerated account of it was immediately forwarded to London. In return, James sent a letter to the council, dated 9th February, in which he says, "It is our express pleasure that you try into the bottom of this matter, to find out those that have, either by money, insinuation,

or otherwise, set on this rabble, to that villainous attempt, or encouraged them in it, and therefore, that for the finding of this out, you spare no legal trial, by torture or otherwise; this being of so great importance, that nothing more displeasing to us, or more dangerous to our government, could possibly have been contrived, and we shall spare no expenses to know the rise of it." Agreeably to this furious mandate, several of the more active in the riot were tried, and one was executed; the students at the college of Edinburgh were commanded to subscribe a bond, declaring their abhorrence of all tumults; and a new pretext was furnished for treating the Covenanters with still greater severity. (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 398.)

In addition to the sufferings to which the Covenanters were subjected from the council and military, they were distressed by divisions among themselves. Numbers of Presbyterians throughout the country, perceiving that they must either abandon their principles, or join with the followers of Mr. Renwick, preferred the latter alternative; but while by their numbers they increased the ranks of the friends of religion and liberty, they at the same time engendered division

and strife, both into the district and general meetings of the Covenanters. (Faithful Contendings, p. 227.) Scarcely a meeting of the societies was held at which some of their number did not oppose and endeavour to thwart their measures, and when disappointed in their schemes, they usually abandoned the party, and vented their chagrin in disgraceful and unfair accusations. At a general meeting of the followers of Renwick, held on the 28th of January, a long and tedious debate took place regarding a union with all Presbyterians throughout the kingdom. The chief supporters of this scheme manifested afterwards the latitudinarianism of their principles; but while they are to be blamed for their departures from the original principles of the Covenanters, Mr. Renwick and his adherents evinced a spirit too contracted, and sacrificed peace to some points of minor importance, which considering the circumstances in which they were placed, ought never to have been made a subject of contention. Yet it is very easy for us to pronounce a judgment on the proceedings of these Covenanters. Had we been placed in their situation, we might, perhaps, have seen the necessity of refusing to give up one iota

of what we were persuaded to be truth, and agreeable to the word of God.*

Meantime the king, determined on accomplishing his favourite project of relieving the Roman Catholics from the disabilities under which they were placed by the laws, summoned a parliament to meet at Edinburgh on the 29th of April. The Earl of Moray was appointed commissioner, and great efforts were made to induce the members either to acquiesce in the measures of government, or to remain silent. (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 358.)

On the day appointed, the parliament was opened by Moray, who produced a letter from his majesty, the greater part of which was occupied with encomiums on the Roman Catholics. "We cannot be unmindful of our innocent subjects," says James, "those of the Roman Catholic religion, who have, with the hazard of their lives and fortunes,

* Wodrow gives a very partial account of these disputes, stating the accusations of Cathcart and others—who opposed the decision of the societies—against Mr. Renwick and his adherents, but omitting the answers which were returned. For a full account of these debates, see *Faithful Contendings*, *Hind Let Loose*, and *Life of Renwick*. In the last mentioned of these works Cathcart receives a very different character from that given of him by Wodrow.

been always assistant to the crown in the worst of rebellions and usurpations, though they lay under discouragements hardly to be named; them we do heartily recommend to your care, to the end, that as they have given good experience of their true loyalty and peaceable behaviour, so, by your assistance, they may have the protection of our laws, and that security under our government, which others of our subjects have, not suffering them to lie under obligations which their religion cannot admit of. By doing whereof you will give a demonstration of the duty and affection you have for us and do us most acceptable service." (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 360.) The demands of the king were enforced by the commissioner in a very artful and flattering speech. "His majesty," said the commissioner, while strongly pleading the cause of the papists, "rests fully persuaded of your ready and cheerful compliance with his royal desire and inclinations, tending so much to your own security and his satisfaction; and that you will send me back to him, my great and royal master, with the good tidings of the continued and dutiful loyalty of this his ancient kingdom,

by which you will show yourselves the best and most affectionate subjects, to the best, the most incomparable, and most heroic prince in the world." (Fount. vol. i. p. 415.) This speech was, however, received with any thing but the usual applause of former parliaments. Nay, in the very answer which was returned to his majesty's letter, this parliament showed a spirit which we have looked for in vain from their predecessors. "As to that part of your majesty's letter," say they, "relating to your subjects of the Roman Catholic religion, we shall, in obedience to your majesty's commands, and with tenderness to their persons, take the same into our serious and most dutiful consideration, and go as great lengths therein as our consciences will allow, not doubting that your majesty will be careful to secure the Protestant religion."* After many fruitless efforts to obtain a toleration for the Roman Catholics even to meet for public worship, the court party found it necessary to abandon

* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 1160. Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 364. "This is the first time since the restoration," adds the last mentioned author, "that the parliament speak of their consciences; and instead of passing an act in favour of religion, as was ordinary in every parliament, they become humble suitors that a popish king may preserve it, and carefully secure it."

their project, and the parliament was prorogued.*

Several of the bishops were exceedingly active in endeavouring to obtain the complete toleration of popery. "Ross and Paterson," says Burnet, "so entirely forgot what became of their character, that they used their utmost endeavours to persuade the parliament to comply with the king's desire. These two governing bishops resolved to let the king see how compliant they would be. Accordingly, they procured an address to be signed by several of their bench, offering to concur with the king in all that he desired with relation to those of his own religion (for the courtly style now was, not to name popery any other way than by calling it *the king's religion*,) provided the laws might still continue in force and be executed against the Presbyterians. (Burnet, vol. iii. p. 1161.) It ought, however, to be added, that a few of the bishops did oppose the unreasonable demands of James, for which the archbishop of Glasgow and the bishop of Dunkeld were deprived of their benefices.†

Foiled in his attempts to obtain the sanc-

* This was James's last parliament.

† The author last quoted, says, that Paterson was made

tion of the legislature to relieve the papists from the restrictive laws under which they were placed, James, "by his sovereign prerogative," thought proper to repeal these obnoxious laws himself, and at the same time to make a considerable alteration in the administration, placing the most noted Roman Catholics in places of trust. All this was accomplished by a letter to the council, dated 21st August, in which are contained the following unblushing sentiments and arbitrary commands: "It was not any doubt we had of our power, in the putting a stop to the unreasonable severities of the acts of parliament against those of the Roman Catholic religion, that made us bring in our designs to our parliament, but to give our loyal subjects a new opportunity of showing their duty to us, their justice towards the innocent, and their charity towards their neighbours; in which we promised ourselves their hearty and dutiful concurrence, as what was founded on that solid justice we are resolved to distribute to all, and consequently to our Catholic subjects. As we have performed

archbishop of Glasgow; and that one Hamilton, "noted for profaneness and impiety, that sometimes broke into blasphemy," was made bishop of Dunkeld.

our part in supporting those of the Protestant religion, the professors whereof are perfectly under our royal protection, so we resolve to protect our Catholic subjects against all the insults of their enemies, and severity of the laws made against them heretofore; notwithstanding of all which, we hereby allow to them the free private exercise of their religion in houses, in which we authorize and require you to support and maintain them, as under our royal protection, in all things, as well their persons as estates; and we hereby discharge any sentences to be given against any of them for the things above allowed of us. And to the end the Catholic worship, may, with the more decency and security, be exercised at Edinburgh, we have thought fit to establish our chapel within our palace of Holyrood-house, and to appoint a number of chaplains and others, whom we authorize and require you to have in your most special protection and care, as persons whom we are resolved to maintain in their just rights and privileges, and to secure under our royal protection. (Wodrow, vol. iv. pp. 389, 390.)

As a contrast to this avowed determination of his majesty to maintain and promote

popery, we shall give another proclamation issued against Mr. Renwick on the 9th of December, which shows in no unequivocal terms his antipathy to the Protestant faith :—
“ Forasmuch as one Mr. James Renwick, a flagitious and scandalous person, has presumed and taken upon hand, these several years bygone, to convocate together numbers of the unwary and ignorant commons to house and field conventicles (which our law so justly terms the nurseries of sedition and rendezvouses of rebellion;) we, out of our royal care and tenderness to our people, being desirous to deliver all our loving subjects from the malign influence of such a wretched impostor, have, therefore, prohibited and discharged all our subjects, that none of them offer or presume to harbour, reset, supply, &c. but do their utmost endeavour to pursue him as the worst of traitors. And if in the pursuit of the said Mr. James Renwick, he, or any of his rebellious associates, resisting to be taken, any of our subjects shall happen to kill or mutilate him or any of them, we hereby declare that they, nor none assisting them, shall ever be called in question.” In conclusion, the sum of one hundred pounds sterling was offered for his

apprehension, dead or alive. (Life of Renwick, p. 128.)

This year was closed by another of those barbarous murders, so many of which it has been our painful task to relate. In the month of December, David Steel, in the parish of Lesmahagow, was surprised by Lieutenant Crichton in the fields, while in hiding. Upon the promise of Crichton that his life would be spared, Steel surrendered himself into his hands; but that faithless and unfeeling wretch ordered him to be instantly shot.

The plans which were devised, and in part executed by James during 1686, for the relief of the papists and the extension of popery, were more clearly developed in 1687. Before adverting to these, however, we shall adduce some further proofs of the continuance of that persecuting spirit which had been hitherto evinced by government against the Covenanters. The council and justiciary court were employed for several months in the beginning of this year, indicting multitudes for treason, either for the affair at Bothwell, or for the late unsuccessful attempt made by Argyle. Many of these trials being in absence, the parties implicated were found guilty, forfeited, and “de-

cerned to be executed to death when apprehended." Others were fined or banished, several condemned to death, and—as if ashamed of their sanguinary proceedings against Protestants, while so many favours were heaped upon Papists—a few were pardoned.

Two instances of the court of justiciary proceedings will be sufficient here. John Anderson, younger of Westerton, was indicted on the 25th of July, for having said in a company at Edinburgh, on the 8th of March preceding, "that it was lawful for subjects to rise in arms for their own defence, and that otherwise no man's life or property was secure." Though the prisoner humbly acknowledged that he had uttered that expression, and not only renounced it, but threw himself on the mercy of the court, he was condemned to be executed to death, and demeaned as a traitor, the time and place of his execution to be left with his majesty. "It was now high time," says Wodrow, when narrating this case, "for the people to awake out of their lethargy, when people were condemned to die for asserting the plainest and most certain principles." (Hist. vol. iv. p. 412.)

The other case was that of James Boyle, who was indicted for being at Bothwell, disowning the king's authority, "by adding treasonable limitations, in asserting that he was not king till he took the covenant," and conversing with and hearing Mr. Renwick. Unlike the martyrs, whose life it is pretended, would have been spared had they but yielded in the smallest point, Boyle acknowledged the rising at Bothwell to be rebellion, owned the king to be his lawful sovereign, and while he confessed that he had heard Mr. Renwick preach, professed his sorrow for the *crime*, and denied connexion with that zealous Covenanter. Yet these acknowledgments were now disregarded, and Boyle was condemned to be executed in the Grassmarket. (Wod., vol. iv. p. 412.) It would appear that he was subsequently reprieved; but even if such a renunciation was insufficient to avert the sentence of death being passed, let not the memory of the genuine and conscientious Covenanters be traduced for holding fast their principles, "without wavering," and disregarding both the smiles and the frowns of their persecutors, continuing until death faithful to the cause of Christ.

A more effectual method, however, of ridding the kingdom of the Covenanters, was by banishment. After robbing and plundering them of the little property which they yet retained, the majority of those who fell into the hands of the council were doomed to perpetual slavery. For refusing to "acknowledge the present authority to be according to the word of God,"—to disown the Sanquhar declaration—and to engage never to hear Mr. Renwick preach in time coming—fifteen men and five women were, in the beginning of April, banished to America; and they were speedily followed by others equally faithful to the principles of the reformation. (Crookshank, vol. ii. p. 341.)

The ravages of the military throughout the country were at the same time continued with little or no abatement; a striking example of which appears in the case of the Mayfield family, in the parish of Twinholm. The lands of Mayfield had lain waste for two years, in consequence of former depredations committed by the military, and such of the tenants as still survived had sought refuge elsewhere. A complaint having been made by the collectors that no cess had been obtained from these lands for a considerable

period, a party of soldiers was sent to seize the produce of the ground. But, to their great mortification, they found the ground to be uncultivated and run to waste. They were resolved, however, not to return without some remuneration, and they accordingly convened all the inhabitants of the district, and ordered them to pay the cess for the lands of Mayfield. This being refused, the military seized their cattle, pretending that they had been fed upon the Mayfield grounds, and the poor people had to repurchase them at prices amounting to double the sum required for the cess.*

Notwithstanding the persecutions to which the Covenanters were subjected, the society people continued to assemble for public worship in the most sequestered parts of the country, and to hold their general meetings for mutual edification, and concerting measures for the general welfare of the whole body. (Faithful Contendings, p. 286.) Aware that several expressions in the declarations which they had already published were misrepresented, they drew up, in the beginning

* Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 414. "The same course," says that author, "was taken for uplifting the king's feus in those lands.

of March, their "Informatory Vindication," which, being revised by Mr. Renwick, was printed in Holland, and distributed, as widely as possible, among the members of the societies. In this document, which for candour and moderation, may vie with many published at a period very different in point of tranquillity, they say, "If in any thing we have in the manner of managing affairs in reference to the public cause, through ignorance or imprudence, jointly miscarried, having good designs, and the thing not attended with obstinacy, our weakness and insufficiency in the abounding confusions of these preceding times, (our faithful guides and men of understanding, by death and otherwise being removed) should be compassionately looked upon and tenderly handled. Whatever may have been our miscarriages, this is our sincere and professed design, purpose, and resolution, to lay out ourselves to the utmost of our power, according to our places and stations, for promoting and propagating the work of reformation, closely adhering to our worthy reformers, and those who have constantly walked in their footsteps, steadfastly wrestling against the corruptions and innovations of the times, continuing succes-

sively the testimony for the reformation ; and that our study is, to keep ourselves unpoluted with the abounding abominations of this our day, and to hold fast the truths of God, not losing them among our own hands, but conveying them down to the succeeding generation, equally guarding ourselves against right or left hand extremes." They state that they were not to be understood as claiming, in the Sanquhar and Lanark declarations, the character of formal representatives of the nation ; and that in disowning Charles II. they did not proceed judicially and authoritatively, but simply declared their own private judgment, refusing to own him "as standing in a magisterial relation to them." Their declaration of martial war they explained as directed solely against the tyrant ; but as to such as strengthened or sided with him, "they declared they would oppose them, not with arms, but by their profession, practice, and testimony." (Informatory Vindication, pp. 33—42.)

While the Covenanters, amidst persecution of every kind, were thus actively employed in endeavouring to maintain the cause of Presbytery, the king was zealously and arbitrarily engaged in promoting the ad-

vancement of popery. A letter was received by the council from James, dated 12th February, enclosing a proclamation for an indulgence, by which the Roman Catholic disabilities were completely removed, and a toleration, such as it was, granted to Protestants.

In this letter his majesty says, "Whereas by our letter of the 21st August last, we were graciously pleased to inform you of our designs, in order to the ease of our Roman Catholic subjects—we have now thought fit to publish these our royal intentions, and to give an additional ease to those of tender consciences, so as to convince the world of our inclinations to moderation, and to evidence that those of the clergy, who have been regular, are our most particular care, though we have given some ease to those whose principles we can with any safety trust: we have at the same time expressed our highest indignation against those enemies of Christianity, as well as government and human society, the field-conventiclers, whom we recommend to you to root out with all the severities of our laws, and with the most vigorous prosecution of our forces,

it being equally our and our people's concern to be rid of them."

The proclamation of the indulgence was quite in accordance with this letter. "We," says the tyrant, "by our sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power, which all our subjects are to obey, without reserve,* do hereby allow and tolerate the *moderate* Presbyterians, to meet in their private houses, and there to hear all such ministers as either have or are willing to accept of our indulgence allenarly, and none other, and that there be not any thing said or done contrary to the will and peace of our reign, seditious or treasonable, under the highest pains these crimes will import; nor are they to presume to build meeting-houses, or to use out-houses or barns, but only to

* Can those who in the present day so justly condemn the conduct and rejoice in the deposition of the ex-king of France, Charles X. for his infringements on the civil rights of his people, either vindicate the tyrannical and lawless measures of the two brothers who for twenty-eight years ruled Britain with a rod of iron, or censure the Covenanters—"those patriots who toiled, and for their country's cause, bled nobly,"—to whose exertions we are indebted for all that is valuable both in civil and religious liberty? No, the very indignation which is manifested by all parties at the illegal proceedings of the infatuated Bourbons, completely justifies—were justification from man at all necessary—the unyielding opposition of the Covenanters to a race of monarchs, equally, nay much more despotic.

exercise in their private houses as said is. In the mean time it is our royal will and pleasure, that field conventicles, and such as preach or exercise at them, or who shall anywise assist or connive at them, shall be prosecuted according to the utmost severity of our laws made against them. And, considering the severe and cruel laws made against Roman Catholics (therein called papists) we by our sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power aforesaid, suspend, stop, and disable all laws or acts of parliament, customs, or constitutions, made or executed against any of our Roman Catholic subjects, in any time past, to all intents and purposes, making void all prohibitions therein mentioned, pains or penalties therein ordained to be inflicted, so that they shall, in all things be as free, in all respects, as any of our Protestant subjects whatsoever, not only to exercise their religion, but to all offices, benefices and others, which we think fit to bestow upon them in all time coming." In conclusion, the test was abolished, and a new oath substituted, obliging all who accepted of the indulgence to maintain and defend James and his successors in their absolute power and authority; and, to remove

the fears of the prelates, an assurance was given—on the word of a king who was now above all law—that he would not meddle with the church lands, “as long as people carry themselves right.” (Wodrow, vol. iv. pp. 417, 418.)

This proclamation—which received the name of King James’s first indulgence—gave satisfaction to no party in Scotland, except to the servile councillors and the papists. It displeased the majority of the Episcopalians, who however desirous to extirpate Presbytery, were very averse to admitting the Roman Catholics to power. It was, on the other hand, decidedly rejected by the Presbyterians, and especially by the society people, who treated it with that scorn which it richly merited. The council, however, not only published it with great pomp, but returned a letter of thanks to James, expressive of their high satisfaction at the promise he had given to maintain the religion established by law.*

* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 1216. Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 422. Burnet acknowledges that in this indulgence “the king resolved to go on in his design of breaking through all laws. His claiming absolute power, to which all men were bound to obey without reserve, was an invasion of all that was either legal or sacred.”

On the 31st of March, James granted a second indulgence, by which the council were permitted to dispense with the oath, and to suffer Presbyterian ministers to preach in private houses *during his majesty's pleasure*. Although the Presbyterians refused to accept of this second insult on their religion and civil rights, yet one or two ministers—without regard to the indulgence—having preached in private houses, the council magnified it as a compliance of the whole body; and James proceeded to adopt similar measures in regard to England. After having grievously persecuted the Dissenters in that kingdom, the crafty monarch with a view to establish popery on the ruins of all denominations of Protestants—declared himself to be the friend of universal toleration. Aware of his intention, however, the Dissenters, forgetting their own grievances, decidedly refused to assist in the destruction of the established Church.*

Having granted such unbounded liberty of conscience in England, James found it necessary to extend the toleration to Scot-

* Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 424. Concerning this second indulgence Shields says, it "was only busking the hook better that they might bite more kindly."—Life of Renwick, p. 130.

land. On the 28th of June, accordingly, a third indulgence was granted, which, though evidently intended to favour the papists, was accepted of by many of the Presbyterian ministers. In this royal edict, his majesty, as usual, “by his sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power,” suspends, stops, and disables, all penal and sanguinary laws made against any for non-conformity to the religion established by law. He then proceeds as follows:—“We do give them (the Presbyterians) leave to meet and serve God after their own way and manner, be it in private houses, chapels, or places purposely hired, or built for that use, so that they take care that nothing be preached or taught among them which may any wise tend to alienate the hearts of our people from us or our government,* and that their meetings be peaceably, openly, and publicly held, and all persons freely admitted to them, and that they do signify and make known to some one or more of the next privy councillors, sheriffs, &c. what place or places they set apart for these uses, with the names of the preachers : Provided always, that their meet-

* That is, in plain English, they shall neither preach nor pray against popery.

ings be in houses, or places provided for the purpose, and not in the open fields, for which now, after this our royal grace and favour shown (which surpasses the hopes and equals the very wishes of the most zealously concerned,) there is not the least shadow of excuse left; which meetings in the fields we do hereby strictly prohibit and forbid, against all which we do leave our laws and acts of parliament in full force and vigour.”*

This indulgence was accepted of by the greater part of the Presbyterian ministers, who immediately proceeded to erect meeting houses in various parts of the kingdom, and to preach the gospel to their hitherto persecuted countrymen. Having assembled in Edinburgh on the 20th of July, these ministers resolved to draw up a flattering address to the king, thanking the tyrant, who had trampled on all law both civil and ecclesiastical for so unlooked for a favour. In this address, they use the following language, which, to say the least of it, is very unlike what might have been expected from professed Covenanters: “From the deep sense we have of his ma-

* Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 426.—This proclamation was more cautiously worded, says Burnet, “only absolute power was so dear to them, that it was still asserted.”—Hist., vol. iii. p. 1218.

jesty's gracious and surprising favour, in not only putting a stop to our long sad sufferings for non-conformity, but granting us the liberty of the public and peaceable exercise of our ministerial function, without any hazard; as we bless the great God who hath put this into your royal heart, do withal find ourselves bound in duty to offer our most humble and hearty thanks to your sacred majesty, the favour bestowed being to us, and all the people of our persuasion, valuable above all our earthly comforts, especially as we have, amidst all former temptations, endeavoured, so we are firmly resolved still to preserve an entire loyalty in our doctrine and practice, and by the help of God, so to demean ourselves, as your majesty may find cause rather to enlarge than to diminish your favours towards us.'*'

* Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 428.—The ministers at this meeting were under no necessity to present any address to James. It is vain for Wodrow, therefore, to colour over this address, by saying that these ministers acted not by delegation from the rest of Scotland, neither as any judicatory, but simply as an occasional meeting. This only rendered their servile address still more exceptionable, seeing it expressed sentiments in which the nation at large did not concur, and which were utterly unworthy of men who professed to adhere to principles for which so many of their brethren had shed their blood. It would have been their wisdom, therefore, to have remained silent, and not to have expressed so

Actuated by a nobler spirit, the society people held the giver and the gift in equal contempt; and though exposed both to the obloquy of their more compliant brethren, and to the persecution of the common enemy, they fearlessly maintained their principles, and refused to accept at the hand of a papist a boon which he had no right either to withhold or bestow. (Faithful Contendings, p. 310.) Their reasons for acting so decided a part, are far from being unsatisfactory. They considered this toleration as flowing from his absolute power—a power which all were bound to obey without reserve, and which could not be limited by law—and they could not therefore accept of it without acknowledging a power inconsistent with the law of God and the liberties of mankind. Besides, they conceived this pretended liberty to be most dishonourable to the cause of Christ; for, though nothing is more desirable than when true liberty is established by the government, yet nothing can be more vile than when the true religion is tolerated under the notion of a crime, and

much loyalty, in their doctrine and practice, to one whom, in the year following, they rejoiced at seeing banished for ever from the throne.

when the exercise of it is only allowed under such and such restrictions. "It is further declared in the proclamation," say they, "that 'nothing must be preached or taught, which may any way tend to alienate the hearts of the people from him or his government.' Now here is the price at which they are to purchase their freedom, (a sad bargain to buy liberty and sell truth,) which yet hardly can be so exactly paid, but he may find a pretence for retrenching it when he pleases; for if a minister shall pray or preach against the church of Rome as Babylon, or against any public sin, a popish or Romish bigot shall interpret it to be an alienation of the people's hearts from the king and his government." (Hind Let Loose, p. 182, et seq.)

The rejection of this ensnaring indulgence subjected Mr. Renwick and his adherents to increased persecution. The council on the 5th of October published another proclamation against them, denouncing as traitors, not only "all such persons, whether preachers or hearers, as shall presume to be at any conventicle in the open fields, but also all dissenting ministers, who shall take upon them to preach in houses, without observing such directions as are prescribed by our late pro-

clamation.”* The threats and the bribes of the persecutors were equally disregarded by the Covenanters, who, though “in jeopardy every hour,” continued to set at defiance all their mandates, and to hold fast those principles for which thousands of their brethren had suffered and died.



CHAPTER IX.

Sufferings of the indulged ministers—apprehension of Mr. Renwick—his trial and sentence—his behaviour in the prison and on the scaffold—his triumphant death—Mr. Renwick is succeeded in his ministerial labours by Mr. Shields—outrages of the military—rescue of Mr. Houston—antipathy of government to Presbyterianism—arbitrary conduct of James—birth of the Prince of Wales—the Protestants look for deliverance to William, Prince of Orange—examination of Mr. Gordon—announcement of an invasion by the Prince of Orange—address of the bishops to James—William lands in England—James abandons the kingdom, and flies to France—riot in Edinburgh—the curates expelled from their churches—convention of estates—the Revolution completed—conclusion.

THE year 1688—a year which will be for ever memorable in the annals of Great Bri-

* Here was already a proof given of the unchristian restrictions connected with the late indulgence; and it was not long before many of those ministers who had accepted of it were persecuted in one form or another, under pretence that they did not observe the prescribed directions of the council. The fact is, that the indulgence was intended for the establishment of popery alone, and when that object was accomplished, the indulgence would be withdrawn, and the Presbyterians become the first victims to Romish cruelty.

tain—was ushered in by events that threatened to extinguish the last ray of hope to the Covenanters. On the 2d of January, a proclamation was published, announcing the queen's pregnancy, for which public thanksgivings were ordered to be offered up to God. As if now perfectly certain of the triumph of popery—the Jesuits confidently predicting the birth of a prince—the antipathy of government to the Presbyterians began to manifest itself even against those who had accepted of the indulgence. Under pretence that the ministers did not conform to the conditions on which the toleration was granted, many of them were silenced or imprisoned, and several of them were tried for their life. Claverhouse, as usual, was among the most zealous persecutors of these ministers, as well as of those who scorned to be fettered by those ignoble restrictions of the tyrant. The people who abandoned the parish churches and resorted to the indulged ministers, were exposed to innumerable sufferings; and not a few of the meeting-houses, as soon as opened, were, upon one pretence or another, ordered to be shut. (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 437.)

But if the more compliant Presbyterians were harassed and oppressed, we may ima-

gine somewhat of the sufferings of those who set their faces fearlessly and resolutely against all the unhallowed deeds of a despotic and bigoted government. At the head of these distinguished patriots stood Mr. Renwick, who, on the sides of mountains, or in solitary glens, preached the gospel of salvation to the multitudes who attended his ministrations.

At length, however, this amiable and zealous Covenanter also fell into the hands of the persecutors. Having given in to the moderator of the meeting of ministers held the preceding year in Edinburgh, a paper against the indulgence, Mr. Renwick repaired to Fife, where, at the peril of his life, he preached the gospel to his countrymen till the last day of January. He then returned to the capital, and lodged in a friend's house on the castle-hill ; but in consequence of the numerous spies who quartered in the city, he was soon found out, and a scheme devised for his apprehension. John Justice, a custom-house officer, who had been for some time on the alert, immediately proceeded to the house, and under pretext of searching for contraband goods, demanded admittance. On Mr. Renwick's attempting to escape by a back door, one of the party by whom the house

was surrounded, struck him a blow on the breast, in consequence of which he fell, after having run to the head of the Cowgate, where he was seized and lodged in the guard-house. (Life of Renwick, p. 139.)

He was several times examined in private before the council, and on the 3d of February he received his indictment to stand trial before the justiciary court. Among other charges, the following accusations were brought against him:—"That in consequence of having shaken off the fear of God and regard to his majesty's laws and authority, as well as having entered into the society of some rebels of most damnable and pernicious principles, and disloyal practices, he had taken upon him to be a preacher to these traitors, and had become so desperate a villain as openly to preach in the fields, declaiming against the king's authority, asserting that he was an usurper, and that it was unlawful to pay cess, but lawful for subjects to rise in arms and make war against him, and those commissioned by him; for which crimes he had been denounced and inter-communed, and a reward of one hundred pounds sterling offered for his apprehension; notwithstanding which, he had still persisted

in his obstinacy, keeping conventicles in the fields, and requiring his hearers to come armed to these rendezvouses of rebellion," &c.

After receiving his indictment, his pious mother, who was permitted to visit him, having on one occasion asked what were his feelings in so trying a situation? "Since my last examination," replied Renwick, "I can hardly pray." Seeing her startled at his answer, he added, "I can hardly pray, being so much taken up with praising, and ravished with the joy of the Lord." "But how shall I look unto that head," said she, "and these hands set up among the rest upon the ports of the city? I have so much of self, that I shall never be able to endure it." With a smile, he told her that she should never be called upon to endure such a trial; "for," said he, "I have offered my life to the Lord, and have sought that he may bind them up, that they may do no more; and I am persuaded that they shall not be permitted to torture my body, nor touch one hair of my head further." (Crookshank, vol. ii. p. 355.)

On the 8th of February, he was placed at the bar of the justiciary court; and on his indictment being read, he was asked if

he acknowledged the charges there brought against him. "All," he replied, "except where it is said, I have cast off all fear of God; that I deny; for it is because I fear to offend God and violate his law, that I am here standing ready to be condemned." He was then interrogated if he owned authority, and especially King James VII. as his lawful sovereign? "I own all authority," replied the prisoner, "that hath its prescriptions and limitations from the word of God; but cannot own this usurper as lawful king, seeing, both by the word of God, such an one is incapable to bear rule, and likewise by the ancient laws of the kingdom, which admit none to the crown of Scotland, until he swear to defend the Protestant religion, which a man of his profession could not do." The following questions were then pressed upon him, Could he deny him to be king? Was he not the late king's brother? Had the late king any children lawfully begotten? Was he not declared to be successor by act of parliament? "True," he replied, "James was no doubt king *de facto*, but not *de jure*: that he was brother to the other he knew nothing to the contrary. What children the other had he did not know; but from the word of God,

which ought to be the rule of all laws, or from the ancient laws of the kingdom, it could not be shown that he had, or even could have any right." He was next asked if he owned, and had taught it to be unlawful to pay cesses and taxes to his majesty. "For the present cess," said he, "exactd for the present usurper, I hold it unlawful to pay it, both in regard it is oppressive to the subjects, for the maintenance of tyranny, and because it is imposed for suppressing the gospel. Would it have been thought lawful for the Jews, in the days of Nebuchadnezzar, to have brought every one a coal to augment the flame of the furnace to devour the three children, if so they had been required by that tyrant? And how can it be lawful, either to oppress poor people for not bowing to the idols the king sets up, or for their brethren to contribute to what may help forward their oppression? Q. Do you own that you have taught your hearers to come armed to your meetings, and, in case of opposition, to resist? A. It were inconsistent with reason and religion to do otherwise. Yourselves would do it in the like circumstances. I own that I taught them to carry arms to defend themselves, and to resist your unjust vio-

lence. Q. Do you acknowledge the notebook, [a MS. book found on his person when apprehended], with the two sermons in it, and that you have preached them? A. If you have added nothing, I will own it, and am ready to seal all the truths contained therein with my blood." (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 450.)

The base practice of the council in selecting for jurymen such as they knew would submit to be fined rather than serve, was resorted to in Mr. Renwick's case, a considerable number of the forty-five being attached to the principles for which he was arraigned. Fifteen were, however, at length obtained devoted to the cause of tyranny; and on the prisoner being asked if he objected to any of them, he replied, that he did not; but "protested that none might sit on his assize who professed Protestant or Presbyterian principles, or an adherence to the covenanted work of reformation." He was of course found guilty, and condemned to be executed in the Grassmarket on the Friday following. On being asked if he desired longer time, he replied, "It was all one to him; if it were protracted, it was welcome; if it were shortened, it was welcome; his Master's time was the

best." With the view of inducing him to comply, he was however respited by the court till the 17th, but he steadily refused to make any concessions which in the smallest degree might be construed as a receding from his principles.

During the few days now allotted to him on earth, though his friends were denied all access to him, he was teased and harassed both by papists and prelates. Bishop Paterson, in particular, often visited him. On one occasion, the bishop said to him, "Think you none can be saved but those of your principles? Will you kill yourself with your own hands, seeing you may have your life upon so easy terms?" "I never said nor thought," replied Renwick, "that none could be saved except they were of those principles; but these are truths which I suffer for, and which I have not rashly concluded on, but deliberately, and of a long time have been confirmed that they are sufficient points to suffer for." On another occasion, a curate having asked him his opinion concerning the toleration and those who had accepted of it, Mr. Renwick told him that he was decidedly against the toleration; but candidly acknowledged that he thought the acceptors of it to

be godly men. The popish priests, again, who visited him, left him as they found him, declaring, as they retired, that he was a most obstinate heretic. (Life of Renwick, p. 151.)

On the day of his execution, his mother and sisters, together with one or two friends, were permitted to see him, with whom he took some small refreshment, and spent the few moments which intervened in exhortation, prayer, and praise. When the drum beat for his execution, in an ecstatic frame of spirit he exclaimed, "Let us be glad and rejoice, for the marriage of the Lamb is come; and I can in some measure say, I am ready." He ascended the scaffold with the greatest cheerfulness, where he was met by one of the curates, who again officiously said, "Mr. Renwick, own our king, and we shall pray for you." "I am come here," replied the martyr, "to bear my testimony against you, and all such as you are." "Own our king, and pray for him, whatever ye say of us," returned the curate. "I will discourse no more with you," rejoined Mr. Renwick; "I am in a little to appear before him who is King of kings, and Lord of lords, who shall pour shame, contempt, and confusion on all

the kings of the earth that have not ruled for him." (Scots Worties, p. 561.)

Notwithstanding the base practice of the beating of drums all the time he was on the scaffold, he addressed the spectators to the following effect:—"I am come here this day to lay down my life for adhering to the truths of Christ, for which I am neither afraid nor ashamed to suffer; nay, I bless the Lord that ever he counted me worthy, or enabled me to suffer any thing for him; and I desire to praise his grace that he hath not only kept me free from the gross pollutions of the time, but also from many ordinary pollutions of children; and such as I have been stained with, he hath washed me from in his own blood. I must tell you that I die a Presbyterian Protestant. I own the word of God as the rule of faith and manners. I own the confession of faith, larger and shorter catechisms, &c., covenants national and solemn league, acts of general assemblies, and all the faithful contendings that have been for the work of Reformation. I leave my testimony, approving the preaching of the gospel in the fields, and the defending of the same by arms. I adjoin my testimony to all that hath been sealed by blood shed either on scaffolds, fields,

or seas, for the cause of Christ. I leave my testimony against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, &c., against all profanity, and every thing contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness; particularly against all usurpations and encroachments made on Christ's right, who is the 'Prince of the kings of the earth,' who alone must bear the glory of ruling his own kingdom, the church; and in particular against the absolute power usurped by this usurper, that belongs to no mortal, but is the incommunicable prerogative of Jehovah; and against this toleration flowing from that absolute power." Here he was ordered to be done, and go up the ladder. Having prayed amidst great interruption, he said to his attending friend at the time the napkin was tying over his face, "Farewell! be diligent in duty; make your peace with God through Christ; there is a great trial coming. As for the remnant I leave, I have committed them to God: tell them from me not to weary nor be discouraged in maintaining the testimony; let them not quit nor forego one of those despised truths. Keep your ground, and the Lord will provide you teachers and ministers; and when he comes, he will make these despised

truths glorious in the earth." He was then turned over the ladder with these words in his mouth, "Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit, for thou hast redeemed me, Lord God of truth." (Cloud of Witnesses, p. 358. Faithful Contendings, p. 324. Life of Renwick, p. 157. Fountainhall, vol. i. p. 495.)

Thus died the amiable and pious James Renwick, one of the most upright and consistent of the Covenanters, as well as most distinguished patriots and Christians in that or in any succeeding age. He was but twenty-six years of age when he fell a victim to popish, prelatic, and tyrannical cruelty; and was the last who publicly sealed with his blood that testimony for adhering to which so many of his brethren had suffered death during the preceding twenty-seven years. "He was," to use the words of a cotemporary and a follower, "a lively and faithful minister of Christ, and a worthy Christian, such as none who were entirely acquainted with him could say any other but that he was a beloved Jedidiah. Though he was the Joseph that was sorely shot at and grieved, yet he was the Caleb that followed the Lord fully. When I speak of him as a man, none more comely in features, none more

prudent, none more brave and heroic in spirit, yet none more meek, more humane, and condescending. His converse was pious, prudent, and meek; his reasoning and debating were the same, carrying along with them a full evidence of the truth of what he asserted; and for steadfastness in the way of the Lord, few came his length. He learned the truth and counted the cost, and so sealed it with his blood." (Mem. of Nisbet, pp. 200, 201.)

Mr. Renwick was succeeded in his labours among the society people by Mr. Alexander Shields, who continued to preach the gospel to the poor wanderers in fields or in houses, equally regardless of the threats of the persecutors and of the obloquy of professed friends. His first field meeting was held in April, upon Distinkcornhill, in Ayrshire, which was attended by a great concourse of people. This meeting proved, however, the cause of much suffering, not only to the persons present, but to the whole inhabitants of the district, the military being let loose on the people in that county to harass and plunder at discretion. (Faithful Contendings, p. 323.)

Neither were the outrages of the military

confined to spoliations and robberies; assassinations and bloodshed at times still continued to mark their progress in their crusades against the Covenanters. George Wood, for example, a young man, or rather a boy, of sixteen years of age, having been found in the fields at night, by a dragoon of the name of Reid, was seized, and without a single question being asked, shot through the head. On Reid being afterwards challenged for his conduct, he justified himself by an argument which appears to have given complete satisfaction. "He knew him," he said, "to be one of the whigs, and they ought to be shot wherever they were found." (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 457.)

A new pretext was furnished to the council, in June, for increasing the persecution against the Presbyterians. Mr. David Houston, who had formerly joined with Mr. Renwick in preaching to the Covenanters in the fields, having been apprehended in Ireland, was sent under a strong guard to Edinburgh to stand trial before the justiciary court. Aware of his fate, should he reach the capital, a number of people attacked the soldiers at Crichton-path, in Ayrshire, and with the loss of one or two on each side, rescued the

minister, and sent him off in safety. Enraged at the success of this bold attempt, the council immediately issued a proclamation, on the 22d of June, ordering the nobility, freeholders, heritors, and indulged ministers, in the counties of Ayr, Lanark, Renfrew, and Nithsdale, to be assembled on the 29th of that month, and those of Wigton on the 6th of July, "in order to find out such as were engaged in the said rescue." But after the strictest search, not one of those concerned was apprehended, though the people in these and the adjoining counties were subjected to innumerable hardships and losses by an irritated soldiery. (Faithful Contendings, p. 337.)

While the people in the country were thus oppressed, the Presbyterians in the metropolis were exposed to outrages equally cruel and illegal. Claverhouse and Colonel Douglas made a strict search throughout the city for Covenanters; nay, every private sentinel received orders to examine, upon oath, all concerning whom the smallest suspicion was entertained; and such as refused to swear that they for ever renounced the covenants, were dragged to prison. These disgraceful proceedings were followed by a proclamation

against the reading or retaining in any person's possession the works following:—"All translations of Buchanan de Jure Regni, Lex Rex, Jus Populi, Naphtali, the Cup of Cold Water, the Scots Mist, the Apologetical Declaration, Mene Tekel, the Hind Let Loose, the treasonable proclamations issued at Sanquhar, and those issued out by the late Duke of Monmouth and the late Earl of Argyle." Every copy of any of these publications was ordered to be delivered up to the council by a given day, under the heaviest penalties. This proclamation was enforced by a general search throughout the booksellers' shops in Edinburgh, where not only the prohibited works were seized, but every book written against popery, under pretext "that the selling of these tended to alienate the people's minds from his majesty."*

* The following anecdote of one of the Edinburgh booksellers deserves to be noticed. During this search, one of the privy council, having repaired to the shop of a staunch whig, inquired of him if he had any prohibited works. The bookseller desired him to search, which having done, and found none, he next interrogated him if he had any books against popery. A great many, was the reply. The councillor informed him that popery being the king's religion, subjects ought not to be alienated from their sovereign, and desired a sight of the obnoxious publications. Upon which the bookseller directed him to a particular place, which was filled with bibles. Taking up one after another, and examining them, the councillor said, "These are bibles."

Notwithstanding all these atrocities; the society people still continued to hold their meetings as well as to assemble together, either in fields or in houses, for the public worship of God. They had been reduced to great poverty in consequence of the frequent fines, robberies, and plunderings to which they had been subjected; yet poor as they were, they resolved to endeavour the ransoming of several of their brethren who had been sold for slaves. At their general meeting, accordingly, which was held on the 1st of August, they collected no less a sum than two hundred and forty pounds sterling, by means of which *thirteen* individuals in Barbadoes were redeemed from slavery. (Faithful Contendings, p. 344.)

During these transactions in Scotland, James acted a part in England, which in a few months afterwards assisted in hurling him from a throne to which he ought never to have been raised. Determined on the full establishment of popery, he not only issued a second indulgence, in which his absolute power was unequivocally asserted, but or—"They are so," replied the bookseller, "and from the one end to the other are all against popery." This was deemed so heinous an offence, that the bookseller was summoned before the council in the afternoon, "and there brought to considerable trouble."—Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 444.

dered it to be read after divine service in all the churches of the kingdom. This mandate was resisted by several of the prelates, seven of whom presented a petition to the king, humbly requesting that he would not insist on their reading a declaration which would make them parties in the publication of what had been declared illegal by parliament. Enraged at this unlooked for opposition, James committed the refractory prelates to the tower, and determined to bring them to trial. The people were instantly aroused; thousands of all ranks attended them both to prison and to Westminster-hall on the day of trial; and when the jury returned a verdict of *not guilty*, a shout burst from the spectators, which being conveyed to the crowds without, was carried into the city, and propagated with the greatest joy throughout the kingdom. (Burnet, vol. iii. p. 1267, et seq. Hume, vol. viii. p. 271.)

A few days before the acquittal of the bishops, the queen was delivered of a son. From previous whispers, however, as well as from the mystery attending his birth, (Burnet's Hist., vol. iii. p. 1281, et seq.) the people in general believed that an imposition was intended, and that a suppositious child

was palmed upon the nation. Whatever, either of truth or of falsehood, was in this rumour, the very idea of a popish heir to the throne filled the Protestants with the greatest alarm; and all eyes were now directed to Mary, James's eldest daughter, who was not only herself a Protestant, but united in marriage to William Prince of Orange, the great champion of Protestantism and civil liberty in Europe.

No sooner did the news of the birth of an heir to the crown reach Scotland, than the council issued a proclamation, dated 14th June, in the following terms:—"We thank the great King of heaven for so extraordinary a mercy, fitted to unite all our hearts, and prevent all our jealousies; not doubting, but that all his majesty's loyal subjects will express their solemn and sincere joy upon so signal an occasion; and that they will put up their ardent prayers to the Almighty, to whom they owe this hopeful prince, for prolonging his life, in which they ought to be concerned, as in their chief earthly blessing, next to that of his royal parents, whom God preserve. And for this end, we, the lords of his majesty's privy council, do, by his majesty's special warrant, appoint and ordain,

that a solemn and public thanksgiving be kept and observed in all the churches of this his majesty's ancient kingdom:—and we require and command the magistrates of all burghs royal, that they cause the said thanksgiving and solemnity to be observed with all suitable marks of joy and congratulation within their respective burghs.” (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 441.) But while the council were thus calling upon the nation to offer up their thanksgivings to God for the birth of a prince by whom the galling chains of popery were expected to be rivetted on the three kingdoms, the Protestants sighed in secret over the mournful prospect which lay before them and earnestly wished success to the meditated attempt of the Prince of Orange—who already had expressed his willingness to comply with the reiterated requests of the patriots of Britain—to deliver the country from civil and religious despotism.

The expected invasion of William, instead of leading the council to adopt conciliatory measures, seemed to inflame their resentment against all who professed Presbyterian principles. The following instance of their tyranny on one against whom nothing could be charged inimical to the present govern-

ment will prove—if further proof were necessary—that the crisis had now arrived when a revolution was as necessary as it was desired. Mr. Charles Gordon, minister at Campvere, being in Edinburgh in the month of August on a visit, and perceiving the unsettled state of the country, was anxious to return as soon as possible to his charge. Aware of the difficulty of travelling without a pass, he applied to the chancellor for one; but, to his astonishment, he was cited before the council, and interrogated by Perth as follows:—“Q. Do you own the king’s authority? A. Yes. Q. Do you pray for the Prince of Wales? A. No. Q. Why not for the Prince of Wales? A. There is no particular order for praying for him, and I have not used to pray for all the particular branches of the royal family by form. Q. Whom do you mean when you pray for the royal family? A. All the princes and princesses of the family. Q. Do you not include the Prince of Wales? A. My lord, I do not exclude him. Q. But do you not include him? Mr. Gordon was silent; upon which the chancellor added, “There is the matter: Sir, I perceive I have not been mistaken nor misinformed concerning you.” At another

examination he was ordered to subscribe a paper, acknowledging the king's son to be prince of Scotland and Wales, and promising to pray for him as such. On his urging that in conscience he could not subscribe that paper, though he neither denied nor disowned the prince of Wales, the chancellor exclaimed, "This is such a mortal sin, a crime, that it is enough to damn you." "I hope," replied Mr. Gordon, "there is more mercy with God than to condemn me for ignorance and weakness." "Yes," rejoined the chancellor, "it is enough to damn you and a thousand with you, for by your calling this in question,* you are guilty of their sin and damnation who follow your example." After this examination, Mr. Gordon was committed prisoner to the castle; and it was not without the greatest efforts being made on the part of his friends, together with an humble petition from himself to the chancellor, that he obtained his liberty. (Wodrow, vol. iv. pp. 458—460.)

Many of the indulged ministers were subjected to similar sufferings. Among others, Mr. Thomas Cobham in Dundee, and Mr.

* He had not even called it in question.

David Williamson in Edinburgh,* were imprisoned, though they could be charged with no offence against the existing laws. But they were Presbyterians, and as such they were obnoxious to a popish and despotic government.

While the council were thus employed in endeavouring to crush the very last remains of liberty in an already enslaved country, tidings arrived of the certainty of an invasion by the Prince of Orange. Yet though these tidings alarmed the unhallowed junto, they did not lead them to adopt conciliatory measures. Determined on supporting tyranny, the council issued a proclamation ordering the militia to be embodied, beacons and signal posts to be erected, and every part of the country put in a posture of defence.

James himself, who had hitherto acted a part so arbitrary and overbearing, was now constrained to ask the advice of the very bishops whom he had so lately persecuted with such rigour. But the counsel of the English bishops was too humiliating for a popish despot to follow. They advised him,

* Mr. Williamson appears to have been imprisoned at the instance of the curate of St. Cuthbert's church. West Kirk Session Record for February, 1688.

in a paper, dated 3d October, "to put the management of the government into the hands of Protestants; to dissolve the ecclesiastical commission court; to suppress the schools of the Jesuits; to desist from his dispensing power; to restore the charters; to call a free and regular parliament; and, above all, to permit his bishops to offer such motives and arguments, as they trusted might, by God's grace, be effectual to persuade his majesty to return to the communion of the church of England." (Burnet, vol. iii. p. 1343.)

The very day on which the English prelates gave this salutary advice to the king, the Scottish council tendered to him their lives and fortunes, humbly asking directions how to conduct themselves in the present emergency. James was highly pleased with their devotedness to his service, and, in return, enjoined them to imprison all suspected persons; and—seeing he had given orders for the regular troops to march into England—to raise such forces as they thought necessary for the defence of the kingdom. (Crookshank, vol. ii. p. 368.)

As a contrast to the conduct of the bishops in England, we shall transcribe the following extract from an adulatory address by the

prelates in Scotland: "We prostrate ourselves," say these base sycophants, "to pay our most devout thanks and adoration to the sovereign majesty of heaven and earth, for preserving your sacred life and person, so frequently exposed to the greatest hazards, and as often delivered, and you miraculously prospered with glory and victory, in defence of the rights and honour of your majesty's august brother, and of these kingdoms; and that by his merciful goodness, the raging of the sea, and the madness of unreasonable men, have been stilled and calmed, and your majesty, as the *darling of heaven*, peaceably seated on the throne of your royal ancestors, whose long, illustrious, and unparalleled line, is the *greatest glory* of this your ancient kingdom. We magnify the divine mercy in blessing your majesty with a son, and us with a prince, whom we pray heaven may bless and preserve to sway your royal sceptres after you; and that he may inherit, with your dominions, the illustrious and heroic virtues of his august and most serene parents. We are amazed to hear of the danger of an invasion from Holland, which excites our prayers for an universal repentance from all orders of men, that God may yet spare his

people, preserve your royal person, and prevent the effusion of Christian blood; and to give such success to your majesty's arms, that all who invade your majesty's just and undoubted rights, may be disappointed and clothed with shame; so that on your royal head the crown may still flourish." They conclude with the greatest professions of unshaken loyalty, and with wishing the king the hearts of his subjects, and the necks of his enemies. (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 458.)

Before this servile address reached the king, William had landed in England. His declaration had been already published, and, notwithstanding the efforts of government, circulated throughout both kingdoms, and received with almost universal approbation. In that declaration, all the grievances of the nation were enumerated: such as the dispensing and suspending power; the filling of all offices with papists; the open encouragement given to popery; the annulling of the charters of all the incorporations; the treating of the most humble petitions as seditious; and the violent presumptions against the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales. (Hume's Hist., vol. viii. p. 292.) In regard to Scotland again, William enumerates all the oppressions, plun-

derings, and murders which had been the lot of the Presbyterians since the Restoration, "for no other reason," says he, "but because they would not answer or satisfy evil councillors, officers, and soldiers, in such questions as they put to them, without any warrant of law, and against the common interest of mankind; besides a great many other violences and oppressions to which that poor nation hath been exposed, without any hope of having an end put to them, or to have any relief from them." (Crookshank, vol. ii. p. 372.)

William sailed from Helvoetsluys on the 9th of October, with a fleet of nearly five hundred vessels, and an army of fifteen thousand men. He was however driven back by a storm, an event which so elevated the cowardly monarch, that several of the concessions, which, in the terror of the moment, he had made to the nation, were immediately recalled. The prince's loss being soon repaired, he again set sail on the 1st of November, and arrived safely at Torbay on the 5th, the anniversary of the gunpowder plot. The next day he commenced his march, and arrived at Exeter, and very soon afterwards multitudes of all ranks flocked to his standard. (Burnet, vol. iii. p. 1354.)

During these commotions in England, Scotland assumed an aspect which might have been expected from the long and severe oppressions to which that kingdom had been subjected. James, having endeavoured to tamper with the indulged Presbyterian ministers, was answered by the cutting reply, that the toleration which he had granted was intended for the ruin, and not the protection, of the Protestant religion; and that they would act in the present juncture “as they should be directed by Divine Providence.” The society people—who had uniformly refused to abandon one iota of their principles—were still more decided. At a general meeting, held on the 24th of October, at Wanlockhead, in Nithsdale, they resolved, “that duty and safety seemed to require rising in a posture of defence; for it would be a reproach, when now the quarrel would be stated for religion and liberty, if they who have born arms hitherto for the defence thereof, should now lay them by as indifferent; that their appearance in that posture should not be sudden, for that would be to expose themselves as a prey, nor should it be at all, if the expedition should only be for England; but that it should only be attempt-

ed when the expedition in that kingdom was so far advanced as all the country were in a combustion, and generally pressed to declare themselves on what side they were. And to this effect it was agreed that their gathering should be toward that place of the country commanded by the Dutch, and that some should be appointed to wait at Edinburgh to give intelligence to all quarters of the time when they should land in Scotland." (Faithful Contendings, p. 365.)

Meanwhile the Prince of Orange slowly advanced towards London, while the bigoted monarch, now deserted by his dearest friends, and even by his own daughter, formed the resolution of abandoning the kingdom, and seeking refuge in France. The army, the navy, and in short the whole kingdom, having declared for William, the popish tyrant found it necessary to give way to the torrent which he had neither the courage nor the ability to resist, and, contrary to the advice of the few who still adhered to his evidently desperate cause, he fled from the country, and became a fugitive in a foreign land.

The declaration of the Prince of Orange had been received and published throughout

Scotland with the greatest avidity, in spite of the threats and menaces of the council. It was openly published at Glasgow, Irvine, Ayr, and other places, while the mandate of government, prohibiting the circulation of false news, was every where treated with the greatest contempt. It was in Edinburgh, however, that the riotings assumed any thing like an alarming appearance. There the council had for a series of years abused that power with which they were entrusted; and now when all the regular troops were called to England, they were left in a manner defenceless, and shortly afterwards found it necessary to vote a voluntary dissolution.

Multitudes had flocked to the capital on the first rumours of an invasion; and no sooner were the troops withdrawn, than a spirit of zeal against popery was evinced, which defied the now feeble efforts of the administration to control. The abbey of Holyroodhouse was particularly obnoxious to the community, as being the place of meeting not only for popish worship, but for the school of the Jesuits. The palace was guarded by an independent company, under Captain Wallace, who, by his extensive preparations for defence, soon attracted the at-

tention of the infuriated populace. On the 9th of December a few individuals, who were walking through the park, having approached the abbey, were ordered by the military to retire. These persons immediately hurried into the city, and alarmed the inhabitants by a report that the abbey was full of armed men. In consequence of these reports, a crowd, chiefly of students and apprentices, soon collected, and, after threatening to burn the provost's house for his refusing at first to deliver up the keys of the city, proceeded to the cross, where they read a proclamation, offering a reward of four hundred pounds sterling to any who should apprehend Perth* or Melford, dead or alive. (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 473.)

Early next morning the town council was assembled, and a proclamation issued, "discharging tumults, and ordering parents and masters to keep their servants and children within doors." This paper was no sooner published than it was torn at the cross, and scattered to the winds. In the evening the crowd again assembled, and being inflamed by reports of intended massacres, they pro-

* The bigoted and persecuting chancellor found it necessary, on this juvenile intimation, to retire from the city.

ceeded to the abbey, with the view of demanding admittance, gathering strength as they went along. Wallace, who had drawn up his men at the foot of the Canongate, ordered them to fire on the crowd as soon as they approached, in consequence of which, between thirty and forty of the inhabitants were wounded, and a few killed. A general rush upon the soldiers followed, which forced Wallace, after having two of his men killed, and several wounded, to retreat into the abbey, the gates of which were immediately shut.

Irritated at the loss of their companions, the crowd, after disposing of the dead and wounded in houses adjoining, proceeded to the city, and dispersing in houses and closes, each party consulted what was proper to be done. They at length resolved to solicit the assistance of a number of gentlemen who were assembled in a tavern; and their application having been successful, the magistrates found it necessary to acquiesce in the now unanimous demands of the inhabitants. The train-bands were consequently raised, the town-guard mustered, and the magistrates, preceded by two heralds, and followed by the whole inhabitants of the city, pro-

ceeded to the abbey. But though a formal summons, in the name of the council, was sent to Wallace, he decidedly refused to surrender. After firing a few shots, Major Graham, at the head of the trained bands, obtained entrance into the abbey by a back passage, which Wallace had left unguarded, upon which the whole military fled. The apprentices, who had followed Graham, put twelve of the soldiers to death before the gentlemen who were present could afford them protection, while the rest of the crowd, having broken into the chapel, effectually destroyed every vestige of popish idolatry. Great efforts had been made by the priests to preserve the images; but these being at length found out, were carried in mock procession through the streets, and then committed to the flames. (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 473.)

The rioting was continued on the day following; and the civil power being almost annihilated, the crowd proceeded to ransack the houses of the papists, carrying away and burning every relic of idolatry on which they could lay their hands. To complete the scene, the students, with the sanction of the magistrates, publicly committed the effigy of the sovereign pontiff to the flames.

The example of the metropolis was speedily followed by the inhabitants of Glasgow and several other places, whose zeal against popery, and indignation against tyranny, though manifested in a somewhat different manner, appeared equally conspicuous.

The society people, who had been so long "persecuted, afflicted, tormented," were not idle during these commotions. Reports having been spread that ten thousand Irish papists were landed in Scotland, and burning Kirkcudbright, they simultaneously ran to arms. Finding these reports to be groundless, they proceeded to redress their own grievances, expelling the unworthy curates from the parishes on which they had been obtruded, and destroying all monuments of popish idolatry which fell into their hands. "They thought," says Burnet, "that the time was now come, not only to procure themselves ease and liberty, but to revenge themselves upon others. They generally broke in upon the Episcopal clergy with great insolence and much cruelty.* They

* Burnet here speaks like all other Episcopal writers. That the Presbyterians treated the curates with ignominy and scorn, and even rudely expelled them from the places which they never ought to have possessed, is granted; but that *cruelty* was used, has never yet been proved; not *one* curate, however obnoxious as a persecutor or an informer, being put to death. "Im-

carried them about the parishes in mock procession, tore their gowns, and drove them from their churches and houses." But though the curates had laid themselves open to the utmost vengeance of an infuriated people, in consequence of the cruel part which they had acted for so great a length of time, they were subjected to no personal violence, further than what necessarily attended their being "drummed out" of their respective parishes. No bloodshed or plunder stained the hands of the Covenanters. Their moderation in the hour of triumph was equalled only by their patience and courage in the season of trial. What a contrast to the conduct of the Episcopalians!

The throne being declared vacant by the parliament of England, in terms which the reader may compare with the declarations of the society people,* William and Mary were

proper as were these excesses," says Cook, "how light were they when put in the balance against the enormities which, under Prelacy, had been perpetrated! for no personal violence, no tortures, no murders, disgraced a sect which had been borne down with every species of outrage. Here incidental ebullitions of popular sentiment had no connexion with the general arrangements of the Presbyterians, who prudently considered what steps should be taken to regain their influence, and to carry on, with the accession of the new sovereign, the settlement of their church."—Cook, vol. iii. pp. 438, 439.

* The English parliament declared, "That King James

declared king and queen, and proclaimed with the greatest joy on the 13th of February, 1689. The convention of estates in Scotland met on the 14th of March, to whom the society people presented a very affecting address. "By all the formerly felt, presently seen, and, for the future, feared efforts of power and tyranny," say they; "by the cry of the blood of our murdered brethren, by the sufferings of the banished free-born subjects of this realm, now groaning in servitude, being sold into slavery in the English plantations of America; by the miseries that many thousands forfeited, disinherited, harassed, and wasted houses have been reduced to; by all the sufferings of a faithful people for adhering to the ancient covenanted establishment of religion and liberty,—we humbly beseech your honours, that you will proceed without any delay to declare the wicked government dissolved, the crown and throne vacant, and James VII. whom we never owned, to have really forfeited and rightly to be deprived of all right and title he ever had, or could ever pretend to have

the Second, having endeavoured to subvert the constitution, *by breaking the original contract between the king and the people, did abdicate the throne.*"

hitherto, and to provide that it may never be in the power of any succeeding ruler to aspire unto, or arise to such a capacity of tyrannizing. Moreover, since anarchy and tyranny are equally to be detested, and the nation cannot subsist without a righteous governor, as also that none can have a nearer right or fitter qualifications than his illustrious highness the Prince of Orange, whom the Most High has singularly owned, and honoured to be our deliverer from popery and slavery; we cry therefore to your honours, and crave that king William, now proclaimed king of England, may be chosen and proclaimed also king of Scotland,—with such necessary provisions and limitations as may give just and legal securities for the peace and security of religion, the stability of our laws, privileges of parliament, and liberties of the people,” &c. Having requested that the king might be obliged to profess and preserve the pure religion and the work of reformation, they conclude thus,—“Upon such terms as these we render our allegiance to king William, and hope to give more pregnant proofs of our loyalty to his majesty in adverse as well as prosperous providences, than they have done, or can do, who profess

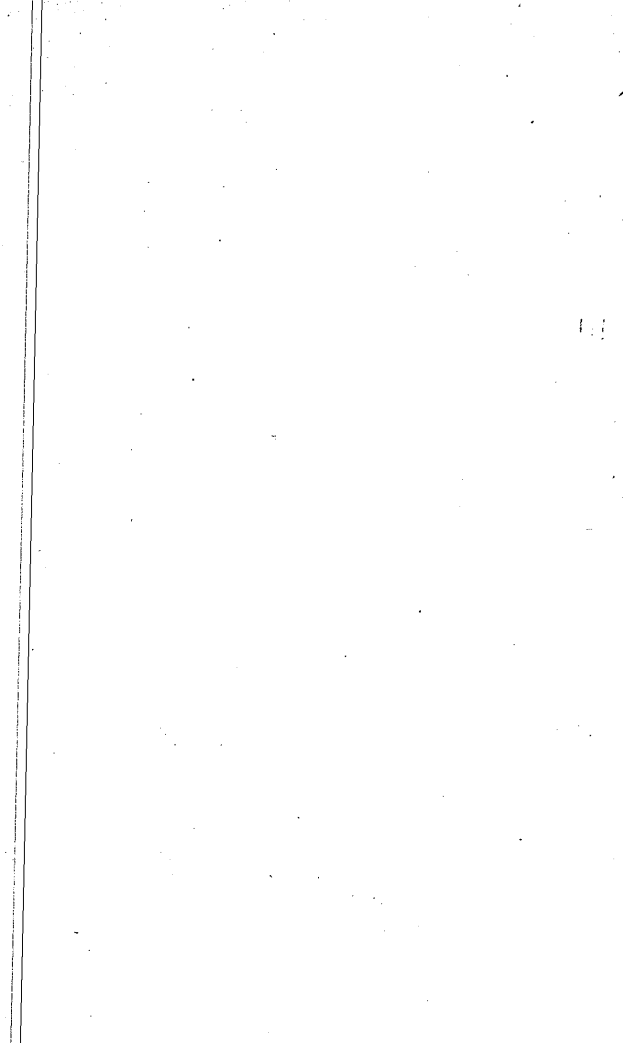
implicit subjection to absolute authority, so long only as Providence preserves its grandeur." (Crookshank, vol. ii. pp. 329, 330.)

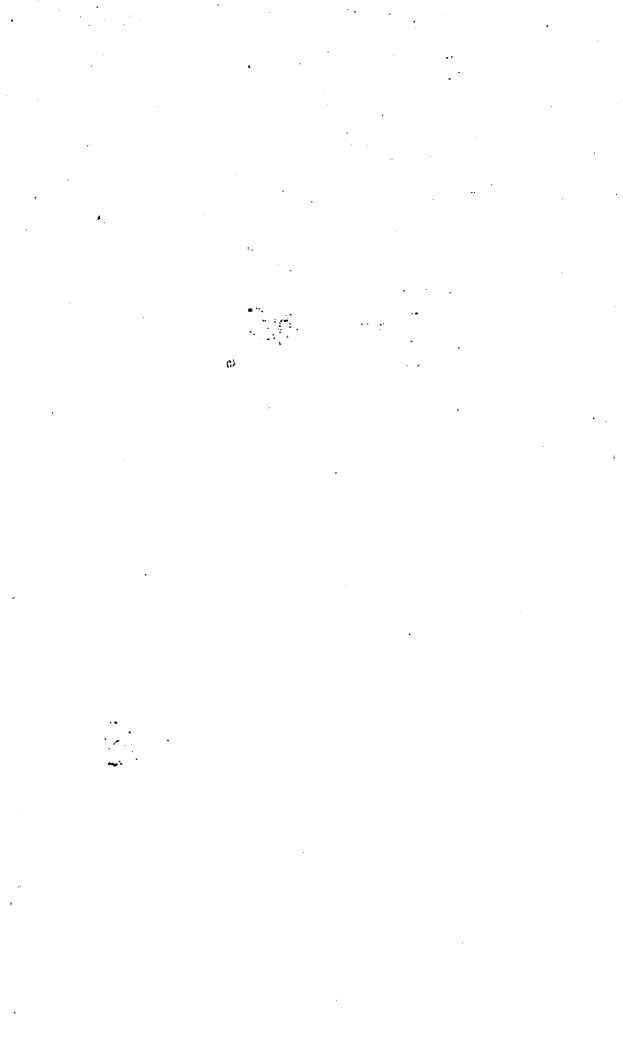
Although the convention did not acquiesce in every particular of this address, they came to the following decision :—" That king James VII. being a professed papist, did assume the royal power and acted as king without ever taking the oath required by law, and hath, by the advice of wicked and evil counsellors, invaded the fundamental constitutions of this kingdom, and altered it from a legal limited monarchy to an absolute and despotic power, and hath exercised the same to the subversion of the Protestant religion, and the violation of the laws and liberties of the nation, inverting all the ends of government, whereby he hath forfeited the crown, and the throne is become vacant,—and that the crown be conferred on the prince of Orange."*

Thus, after twenty-eight years of the most grievous persecution, was the nation delivered from popery, prelacy, tyranny, and sla-

* Here the Scottish convention recognises the principle, so long contended for by the Covenanters, that when rulers abuse the power with which they are entrusted, the people may depose them. Several thousand Covenanters had been sacrificed by the house of Stuart for maintaining the very sentiments which were adopted by the convention in 1689.

very, and the Presbyterians restored to their privileges and rights. We make no remarks on the transactions which followed. It is enough that we have brought the history of the Covenanters to the period at which they were placed beyond the reach of persecution, and the church of Scotland was restored to the liberty which she enjoyed before the throne of England was filled by the first of the Scottish monarchs. For the accomplishment of this revolution, the three kingdoms lie under no small debt of gratitude to the Covenanters. They suffered and bled both in fields and on scaffolds for the cause of civil and religious liberty ; and shall we reap the fruit of their sufferings, their prayers, and their blood, and yet treat their memory either with indifference or scorn ? No ; whatever minor faults may be laid to their charge, whatever trivial accusations may be brought against them, it cannot but be acknowledged that they were the men who “singly and alone” stood forward in defence of Scotland’s dearest rights, and to whom we at the present day owe every thing that is valuable to us either as men or as Christians.





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